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NAVAL HISTORY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN,  
INCLUDING THE  
HISTORY AND LIVES  
OF  
THE BRITISH ADMIRALS.  
BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

WITH  
A CONTINUATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1812;  
COMPRISING  
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE ADMIRALS OMITTED BY DR. CAMPBELL :  
LIKEWISE OF NAVAL CAPTAINS AND OTHER OFFICERS WHO HAVE  
DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THEIR COUNTRY'S CAUSE.

DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, TO  
*HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.*

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IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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VOL. VI.



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# NAVAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

INCLUDING

LIVES OF THE ADMIRALS, CAPTAINS, &c.

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## CHAP. XXVII.

*The Naval History of Great Britain from the Year 1779,  
to the End of the American War.*

AT the meeting of parliament, November 25th, 1779, the speech which was delivered from the throne, was more remarkable for what it omitted, than for the topics on which it dwelt. Nothing was said respecting the state of affairs in America, or the West Indies; no hope of success in the war between the United States and Great Britain, was held out. Indeed, every thing relative to the war was cautiously passed over in silence. The designed attempts of the house of Bourbon, to press down and destroy the power of this country, were alluded to; and his Majesty expressed his firm reliance on the courage and fidelity of his subjects, that he should be able to withstand the combined power of his enemy; and finally to work out by their means a safe and honourable peace: it was, therefore, very extraordinary, that, as a direct allusion was made to the restless and encroaching power of the house of Bourbon, and as it was well known, that this power had been called

into life and action by the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies, and could only be exercised by assisting the efforts of the latter to shake off their allegiance, that no hint should have been thrown out either respecting the actual state of the war in America, or respecting the probability of Great Britain being able to reduce her colonies to obedience, notwithstanding the co-operation of the house of Bourbon.

The address to his Majesty, as usual, echoed the principal topics of his speech, and breathed the utmost confidence that the war would proceed and terminate happily and gloriously, while it promised those supplies which might be necessary to secure this important object: some opposition was indeed made to ministers, in the address they moved, but they carried their question by a great majority. The supplies, so far as they regarded the navy, were very great: eighty-five thousand seamen, including marines, were voted for the service of 1780; the supplies for these men amounted to a sum then deemed enormous and unprecedently great, *viz.* 4,470,000*l.*; the whole sum voted for the navy was upwards of 7,000,000; and the total supplies were 21,196,496*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*

The flag-officers employed this year were the following: Admiral Sir Thomas Pye in the *Diligente*, at Portsmouth; Vice-admiral Gambier in the *Dunkirk*, at Plymouth; Vice-admiral Roddam, in the *Conquestadore* at the Nore; Admiral Geary, in the *Victory*, succeeded to the command of the Channel fleet, on the death of Sir Charles Hardy; he did not, however, continue long in this command, as he resigned in August, and was succeeded by Vice-admiral Darby; on the Lisboa station, Commodore Johnstone had the command in the *Romney*; in North America, a station of very great consequence, Vice-admiral Arbuthnot commanded in the *Europe*. This command, however, according to the usual

custom, did not comprehend Newfoundland, where Rear-admiral Edwards, in the *Portland*, was stationed: on the Leeward Island station, which also required an indefatigable, experienced, and skilful officer, Sir G. B. Rodney was employed, in the *Sandwich*, with six sail of the line: Vice-admiral Sir Peter Parker was stationed at Jamaica, in the command of the Windward Islands; and Vice-admiral Sir Edward Hughes in the East Indies.

The naval character of Great Britain had been greatly tarnished in the course of the year 1779, especially by the unprecedented, disgraceful, and galling circumstance of the combined fleets of France and Spain having bid defiance, not only to our whole navy, but to the very harbours and coasts of the kingdom, in their sailing up the channel, and threatening Plymouth. It was, therefore, hoped, that some great, decisive, and successful effort would be made in the beginning of the year 1780, to wipe off the disgrace; to this motive so irritating, was added another. In order to ingratiate and please Spain, France had agreed to assist her in an attack on Gibraltar: the Spaniards, from the very commencement of their war with this country, had sat down before this important fortress, and though no immediate apprehension was entertained that it could speedily or easily be reduced, yet common prudence required that early and effectual efforts should be made for its relief and support.

For this purpose Sir George Rodney was employed; he was to go out to take the command on the Leeward Island station; and in his course there, Gibraltar was to be relieved: along with him, a squadron, under the command of Rear-admiral Digby, was also sent out, which, when the relief of Gibraltar had been accomplished, was to return to England, while Sir George Rodney proceeded to the West Indies. On the 27th December, 1779, this commander put to sea, with twenty sail of the line, and nine frigates,

taking under his protection the merchant vessels bound to Portugal and the West Indies, along with the store ships and victuallers destined for Gibraltar and Minorea.

Soon after this fleet put to sea, it fell in with a very considerable convoy bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, consisting of fifteen sail of merchantmen, under the protection of a sixty-four gun ship, and four frigates: the whole fleet was taken, and turned out to be a very rich prize, as several of the merchant vessels belonged to the royal company of the Caraccas: this capture, besides being the source of riches to the captors, was extremely fortunate in another respect, as a great number of the vessels were loaded with wheat and other provisions; and some of them with naval stores. Those loaded with provisions, Admiral Rodney took along with him to Gibraltar, while he sent those laden with naval stores to England, where they were very much wanted.

Fortune appeared to favour Admiral Rodney in a singular manner, and to have singled him out as the person she had destined to wipe off completely the stigma on the British navy, which the previous year had witnessed. He had received intelligence that a Spanish squadron, supposed to consist of fourteen sail of the line, was cruising off Cape St. Vincent: on the 16th January, he fell in with this squadron; their force, however, was only eleven sail of the line, under the command of Don Juan Langara. As the enemy were so very inferior in force to the British fleet, they used every endeavour to avoid an engagement, and in these endeavours they were assisted by their vicinity to the coast, the roughness of the weather, and the time of the year; but Sir George Rodney, early aware of their design, and also of the circumstances which favoured the execution of it, evinced great skill and adroitness in counteracting it. He at first had thrown out a signal for a line of battle abreast, but, perceiving that if this signal were con-

tinued to be acted upon, the enemy would accomplish their purpose of escaping, he altered it, and threw out a signal for a general chace, and that the ships, each as they came up with the enemy, should commence the engagement: that he might still further cut off the enemy from all chance of escaping, he likewise made a signal, that his fleet should take the lee-gage, so that the retreat into their own ports might be impossible.

As it was very late in the short days of January, before the last signals were made, some apprehensions were entertained that the enemy would escape at the approaching darkness; and had it not been that the British ships, especially those that were copper-bottomed, sailed remarkably well, this must have been the case. The action was fairly and regularly commenced before it was dark: the Spaniards having been more anxious to escape than to fight, had thrown themselves into considerable confusion, in their endeavours to fly from our squadron; and when they perceived a battle was inevitable, they had not time or opportunity to recover from their confusion, and to arrange their ships in order of battle. They fought, however, with great spirit and resolution; and returned our fire with considerable effect. The night soon drew on: it was dark and tempestuous; and the horrors of battle in such a night were greatly augmented by the blowing up of the Spanish ship *San Domingo*, which happened early in the action: she mounted seventy guns, and carried six hundred men: not a single soul was saved. The *Bienfaisant*, which was along side of her at the time of the explosion, very narrowly escaped a similar fate. The Spaniards, finding it impossible to withstand the superior force of the British, sought their safety in flight. They were pursued during the whole of the night, and it is remarked, as a proof of the skill with which the British ships were managed, and of the perfection of the different signals that were thrown out, that, though

the pursuit and fighting continued for upwards of nine hours, our vessels did no damage to each other, nor ever mistake their own for the ships of the enemy.

The result of this action was glorious and decisive : the Spanish admiral's ship, the Phœnix, mounting eighty guns, and three of seventy guns, were taken ; the San Julian, a seventy gun ship, was also captured, but she was afterwards retaken ; another seventy gun ship that was taken, ran on the breakers and was completely lost : four of the Spanish fleet escaped into Cadiz, damaged in a greater or less degree.

When day broke, the skill of the British admiral and sailors was very conspicuously manifested, as it was most peremptorily required : the victorious fleet was discovered near the coast of the enemy, in very tempestuous weather, many of their own ships considerably damaged, and the captured ships requiring great attention. A circumstance occurred, which ought not to pass unnoticed, as it was not less honourable to the humanity of the British, than to the honour of the Spaniards. The small pox, of a very malignant and infectious kind, prevailed on board of Captain Macbride's ship : as he had taken the Spanish admiral, the Phœnix, it was his business and duty to send men on board to take charge of her, as well as to bring the prisoners into his own ship. Afraid, however, if this measure were pursued, that the infection would be communicated to the Spaniards, he informed Don Langara, of the state in which his crew were, and proposed to leave his ship with only a hundred British sailors, who were free from the disorder, under the command and management of the Spaniards, provided that, in case of separation, the Spanish admiral would give his word of honour, still to consider himself as the prisoner, and his ship as the prize of the British. This proposal was joyfully accepted by Don Langara ; and he faithfully adhered to the conditions.



After this battle, Admiral Rodney proceeded to Gibraltar, where, having effectually executed the commission on which he was sent, he sailed to the West Indies; Admiral Digby, with the greater part of the fleet, and the Spanish prizes, returning to England. On the 23d February, this officer discovered and gave chase to a French convoy, consisting of thirteen sail, from Brest, bound to the Mauritius, laden chiefly with military and naval stores: as the weather was extremely rough, and boisterous, only three of the convoy and one ship of the line were taken.

About this period strict orders were given by the Admiralty, to search all ships belonging to neutral powers, and to detain them, if it were found that they contained any articles deemed contraband of war. In consequence of these orders, Commodore Fielding, falling in with some Dutch merchant vessels, under the protection of Count Bylaud and a small squadron of men of war and frigates, asked permission to search them; this was refused, and on the commodore sending out his boats for that purpose they were fired on by the Dutch: in consequence of this, the British captain fired a broadside into the ship of the Dutch admiral, and he not being prepared for battle, immediately struck his flag. Most of the merchantmen escaped, a few, however, were stopt, and the Dutch admiral was then informed, that he was at liberty to proceed on his voyage; this, however, he refused to do; and he, together with the merchantmen that had been searched, accompanied the British squadron to Spithead.

The consequences of this were very serious to Great Britain in their aspect, especially as they occurred at a time when she had already against her as many enemies as she could well cope with. The European powers, who had the least interest in maintaining what they called the freedom of the seas, united into a maritime confederacy: at the head of

this was the empress of Russia, who, on the 26th February, issued a declaration, addressed to the courts of Madrid, Versailles, and London: though this declaration was jointly addressed to the three powers at war, yet its spirit, and more particularly the doctrines respecting maritime commerce, which it contained and enforced, were aimed at the power and pretensions of the last named court, in a most pointed and decisive manner. After some preliminary matter, in order to prove that while she had been at war, she had carefully abstained from infringing the maritime rights of neutrals, and that she had not now come forward but after great provocation, her subjects having been often molested in their navigation, the empress proceeded to lay down the five following propositions:

I. That neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation even from port to port, on the coasts of the belligerent powers.

II. That all effects belonging to the subjects of the belligerent powers, should be looked upon as free, on board of such neutral ships, except only such goods as were stipulated contraband.

III. In order that there might be no doubt or dispute respecting what constituted contraband goods, the empress of Russia referred to articles X and XI of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, made in 1734, in which they were all specified, and particularly enumerated.

IV. In order to determine what constitutes a blockaded port or harbour, it shall be declared and agreed upon, that if the entry to it is not rendered dangerous by a sufficient number of enemy's ships being stationed near it, it should not be characterized nor regarded as such; but free entry into it should be allowed.

V. The principles laid down in the preceding propositions, should serve as rules in judicial proceedings and sentences.

In order to shew that she was in earnest, and determined to support the new maritime code, which she had thus laid down, the empress of Russia gave orders that twenty sail of the line should immediately be got ready for sea: and she called upon the States-general, and the courts of Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Lisbon, to join with her in protecting their common rights, and in establishing a system founded in justice, and which, by the advantages it would produce, might serve as a rule to future ages.

As might naturally be supposed, the courts of France and Spain declared their entire approbation of the principles of this new maritime code. Great Britain, though she could be at no loss to perceive, that it was aimed expressly and exclusively at her power and pretensions, was compelled to repress her indignation, and to content herself with a simple expostulation with the court of St. Petersburg. Against the States-general, however, she acted with more vigour and openness: she not only had less to dread from them, but they had gone farther by their acts, than the northern confederacy had in their declarations. Accordingly, on the 17th April, a royal proclamation was issued at London, in which, after stating and enumerating the serious and repeated causes of complaint, which Great Britain had against the Dutch, all the particular stipulations in their favour which had been granted by former treaties, are declared to be provisionally suspended: more particularly those contained in the marine treaty between Great Britain and the United Provinces, concluded at London, on the 11th December, 1674.

In North America, Sir Henry Clinton, and Vice-admiral Arbuthnot, were obliged to content themselves for some time, with acting on the defensive, in consequence of the strong force which Count D'Estaing carried to the coast of Georgia, in the autumn of 1779; they were, however, soon enabled to undertake active measures: Savannah, which was

the object of the French forces, held out in a most gallant and determined manner: the squadron of Count D'Estaing, after repeated attempts to reduce it, along with the land forces, was compelled to retreat; and Sir Henry Clinton, and Vice-admiral Arbuthnot were then left at liberty to proceed with a powerful armament, to the southward. South Carolina was the great object of this enterprise, from which important consequences were expected, and to which the united sea and land forces were to be directed with vigour and promptitude. The land forces were more fortunate in the part assigned to them than the fleet was: on the 1st of April, they broke ground within eight hundred yards of the enemy's works, on Charlestown neck. Admiral Arbuthnot, in the mean time, made repeated attempts to pass the bar of Charlestown harbour; but a fortnight elapsed before he could effect it. As the force of the enemy in the harbour was considerable, it was expected that they would have made some resistance; this, however, from whatever cause, they did not do; but, leaving the fort which they commanded, and which, if defended, must have proved a formidable obstacle, they retired to the town. The admiral, favoured by the enemy's want of resolution, passed, with little loss, the heavy batteries of Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, and gained possession of the harbour, so that the town, by this measure, was nearly completely blockaded.

On the 9th of April, a summons was sent to the governor of the town, General Lincoln, to surrender it; to this he replied, that, as he had known of their intention to attack it sixty days before they commenced their operations, and was of course well prepared to meet and resist them, he could not think of surrendering, when those operations were scarcely began. During the whole of the siege, the harmony and co-operation between the admiral and general, was productive of the happiest and most beneficent

effects ; in every case, where the general expressed a wish, either that the troops should be conveyed for the purpose of more effectual attacks, or that the navy should take an active part, the admiral immediately and cheerfully consented. This was particularly proved in the plans which the admiral pursued for the purpose of passing a naval force into Cooper's river ; finding this attempt impracticable by the main passage, he endeavoured to gain his object by Hog's Island ; here, however, he was suspected and prevented by the enemy, who, by sinking vessels in the channel, rendered it impossible for vessels to pass that way. No other plan appeared practicable but that of getting possession of the works on Sullivan's Island, and Mount Pleasant, by means of the seamen of the fleet ; before, however, they arrived at the place of their destination, the enemy had abandoned their works. The only obstacle which had presented itself to the successful and final operations of the besiegers was, Fort Moultrie : the admiral, therefore, determined to attempt this place by storm : an adequate force was sent out for this purpose ; but, when every thing was in readiness, the garrison capitulated, and became prisoners of war.

Charlestown was now enclosed on every side, and no chance existed, by which it could hold out much longer ; as the British commanders were extremely desirous to spare it as much as possible, they again summoned General Lincoln to surrender ; but the terms on which he agreed to give up the town, were such as appeared to them much more favourable than, under the circumstances in which he was placed, he had any reason to expect. The batteries on the 3d parallel were, therefore, opened ; and the works were pushed directly up to the very ditch of the place. The danger was now so very great and imminent, that General Lincoln agreed to give up the town ; and the British commanders granted now the same conditions which they had formerly offered.

While the siege of Charlestown was going on, Captain Cornwallis, on the Jamaica station, being on a cruise in his own ship, the *Lion*, of sixty-four guns, with the *Bristol* of fifty, and the *James* of forty-four, he was chased by Mons. De la Motte Piquet, with four seventy-four gun ships and two frigates: after a running fight during the night, in which the enemy seemed more anxious to keep at a short distance, than to push up alongside, the *James* in the morning was so much disabled, that the *Lion* and *Bristol* were obliged to bear up to her assistance. This brought on a general engagement, which continued between two and three hours and though the enemy were so greatly superior in point of force, yet they suffered so much, that they were compelled to lie by and refit. After a few hours, they renewed the pursuit; still, however, appearing unwilling to come alongside, when the *Ruby* of sixty-four guns, and two frigates heaving in sight, the French squadron gave up the pursuit, and sought their safety in flight.

For several days previously to the 27th of March, M. De Guichen, with twenty-five sail of the line appeared in sight of the Island of St. Lucia, returning occasionally to Fort Royal Bay Martinique. Admiral Rodney, who arrived on that day, was immediately apprized of the movements of the French squadron, and was determined if possible to bring them to action, the next time they should put to sea. M. De Guichen, having slipped out of Fort Royal Bay on the night of the 15th of April, the British admiral, being apprized of it, pursued him with his whole squadron. On the 16th he got sight of the enemy, and immediately threw out the signal for a general chase. About five o'clock in the evening, he came so near them, as to be able to discover, that they consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, one fifty gunship, three frigates, a lugger, and a cutter; just as the sun was setting, he formed his fleet in a line of

battle ahead, and in order that the enemy if so disposed, might not escape him, he directed two of his frigates to keep between him and them, and to watch their motions. During the course of the night the enemy manœuvred his fleet in such a manner, as to lead Admiral Rodney to suspect that it was his intention and endeavour to decline an engagement, if possible; this he resolved to counteract, notwithstanding his force was inferior, and accordingly he manœuvred his fleet in such a manner, that at day-break on the 17th he was able to form in a line of battle ahead, so near the enemy, that they seeing no chance of avoiding an engagement, formed on the same tack. One great advantage was on the side of the British, and this had been in a great measure gained by the skill of Admiral Rodney's manœuvres; his fleet had the wind of the enemy, and thus could chuse their own mode and time of attack. Just as the fleets were about to engage, M. De Guichen, perceiving that his rear was to be the object of attack, wore his fleet, and changed to the larboard tack; this movement compelled the British admiral to place his ships in the position they had before occupied, of the line of battle ahead on the starboard tack, only at the distance between each ship of two cables' length.

The two fleets were now on the same tack; and when they bore down to commence the engagement, they were parallel to each other, and but a short distance asunder. A little before one o'clock some of the headmost ships of our fleet brought the enemy to action; and nearly at the same time, Admiral Rodney in the *Sandwich* of ninety guns began the action in the centre. This ship was fought with so much skill and gallantry, that she soon drove three of the enemy's fleet out of the line, when M. De Guichen, in the *Couranne*, a ship of the same force as the *Sandwich*, supported by the *Fendant* and the *Triumphant*, bore up against her: notwithstanding the great in-

equality of force, the Sandwich not only kept her station, but actually compelled the three ships of the enemy to retire, thus leaving the centre completely broken. The defeat of the French would not have been complete, had it not been that some of the British captains, not accurately understanding the signals of the admiral, had bore away so far that the British van and rear were at a great distance from the centre. Admiral Rodney, when he perceived that his fleet was separating, did every thing in his power to keep them close and connected; but not being able to effect this, and perceiving that confusion and disorder rather than the end he had in view were likely to result from his attempts, he was obliged to desist, and to suffer a victory, apparently within his reach, to pass from him. The action continued till about four o'clock, when the French fleet bore away before the wind, and the British not being in a condition to pursue it, the firing ceased.

Admiral Rodney was by no means pleased with the conduct of several of his captains in this engagement; in his public dispatches he complained that his signals had not been obeyed; and insinuated that if they had, and if all his captains had done their duty, he would have gained a decisive victory over the enemy. In consequence of these complaints, one captain was deprived of his ship; and one or two were brought to a court-martial, but no circumstances came out to prove what were the real causes of this engagement being so indecisive. One thing, however, was sufficiently pointed out; *viz.* that the system of naval signals was very incomplete, and liable to great ambiguity. It was supposed that the real causes which prevented Admiral Rodney from gaining a decisive victory on this occasion, or at least the specific grounds on which he blamed his captains would have come out, in consequence of Lord St. John moving for papers in the House of Peers, for the purpose of an enquiry into the subject;



but this motion was over-ruled, on the first lord of the Admiralty declaring that there were no other documents but such as had been already given to the public in the Gazette.

Both fleets were so much crippled that they were obliged to spend a few days in repairing their damages; but they were soon at sea again. On the 20th of April, Admiral Rodney getting in sight of the enemy's fleet, made the signal for a general chace: this chace was persevered in during three days; but the French ships sailed so much better than ours, that it was ineffectual, as they were enabled to reach the shelter of the fort and batteries of Basseterre in the Island of Guadaloupe. Admiral Rodney suspecting that their ulterior and grand object was, to regain Martinique, directed his course thither; but after waiting some time, and having greatly alarmed the inhabitants, the condition of his ships obliged him to leave that station, and to retire to St. Lucia. Here having received accounts of the enemy being at sea, and having by this time put his fleet into good condition, he again set sail, and on the 10th of May he perceived them a few leagues to windward. The French, as before, seemed determined to avoid coming to an engagement; but from the relative position of their fleet, and from their ships being so much cleaner than the British, they were enabled for several days to bear down nearly close on them, then haul their wind, and retire beyond the reach of our vessels. This was very tantalizing and provoking to the British admiral: he knew that if he could bring the French to a close and regular engagement, he had no reason to fear the result; and yet he perceived that the enemy by their manœuvres mocked at him, and placed almost within his reach the object he wished to attain, only for the purpose of snatching it again from him. The enemy however nearly suffered from their rashness and presumption; they seemed to forget, that though they had the advantage of the wind, and

though their ships were better sailers than ours, yet, we were superior to them in nautical skill, and they were trusting to an element proverbially fickle and uncertain. During one of their accustomed manœuvres, the British admiral, under the appearance of betaking himself to flight, so far deceived the French, that he had nearly gained the wind of them: had he accomplished this, he not only would have deprived them of the advantage they had so long enjoyed, but would also have thrown them into confusion. Fortune, however, favoured the enemy; just as the French admiral had placed his fleet in such a manner, as would have enabled him to have compelled the enemy to an engagement, the wind shifted; the French, aware of their danger, crowded all sail, and endeavoured to escape.

Their endeavours, however, were not completely successful: the van of the British fleet led on by Captain Bowyer, about seven in the evening reached their centre; he was followed by Rear-admiral Rowley's division, the centre and rear of the British following in order. The enemy still continuing to fly under a press of sail, only the British van got fairly up with them; and Captain Bowyer for a considerable time sustained alone the fire of several of their ships, till he was seconded and supported by the Conqueror, Rear-admiral Rowley.

The two fleets still continued in sight of each other; but nothing material happened till the 19th, when the British admiral made another skilful effort to gain the wind; although this was not completely successful, yet it brought the two fleets so close together, that the French, in order to preserve their rear, were obliged to hazard a partial engagement; accordingly they bore along the British line, keeping up a heavy cannonade, but still at such a distance, as neither to injure our ships much, nor to bring on a general battle. As soon as they had effected the escape of their rear, their whole fleet bore away,

with all the sail they could carry. In these two engagements, our whole loss amounted to sixty-eight slain, and two hundred and ninety-three wounded: the bravery of Captain Bowyer was manifested by the circumstance, that of this number, there were twenty-four killed, and one hundred and twenty-three wounded on board of his ship the *Albion* only.

On the 22d, Admiral Rodney arrived with his fleet in Carlisle Bay, in the Island of Barbadoes; while there, he was informed by Captain Man, of the *Cerberus*, of the Spanish war; and that a fleet of that nation had already sailed from Cadiz for the West Indies: in consequence of this intelligence, he dispatched frigates to cruise for them to give him the earliest notice of their approach: they however effected a junction with the French fleet, under Monsieur De Guichen, without his knowledge. As soon as he heard of this circumstance, he sailed with his whole force to St. Lucia, where he fortified Pigeon Island, placing his squadron in such a manner, as would effectually have enabled him to resist any attempts they might have made. They did, not, however, venture to attack him, but in the beginning of July, having left Martinico, they separated, the French proceeding to Cape François, and the Spaniards to the Havannah.

Admiral Rodney, soon after this, having been reinforced with several ships from England, under Commodore Walsingham, dispatched him and Rear-admiral Rowley with ten sail of the line to Jamaica, and proceeded himself with ten sail of the line and a frigate to New York, whence he returned to St. Kitt's on the 18th of December.

The West Indies this year suffered most severely from a dreadful hurricane: it spread desolation over the whole islands, particularly Barbadoes, Martinique, and Jamaica. On the Leeward Islands station, the *Vengeance* of seventy-four guns, sustained great damage in the harbour of St. Lucia: the *Ajax* and Mon-

tague were forced out to sea, from the same harbour, but regained it, after having been exposed to great danger; the Egmont and Endymion were dismasted, and, unable to put into St. Lucia, were compelled to run down to Jamaica; two foundered at sea, and all on board perished: two were wrecked on Martinico, and one on St. Lucia, and only a few men were saved from each ship; besides other ships of war that were considerably damaged.

On the Jamaica station, the loss sustained by the British fleet was also very great; Sir Peter Parker, who commanded here, had detached a considerable part of his squadron under Admiral Rowley and Commodore Walsingham to convoy a fleet of merchantmen through the Gulph of Mexico: Commodore Walsingham proceeded on to Europe with the fleet, but Admiral Rowley having seen them safe through the gulph, steered, according to his orders, for Cape François: he had under his command, the Thunderer, Hector, Berwick, Ruby, Trident, Stirling Castle, and Bristol. On the 5th of October a dreadful hurricane arose: about twelve at night the wind blew a perfect tempest: the Thunderer soon disappeared: the Grafton lost all her masts: her tiller snapt in two, and five of her guns broke loose; and in this dreadful situation, she was enabled to live out the storm, only by the very great exertions of her crew. The Trident, Ruby, and Bristol suffered nearly in an equal degree. They had scarcely refitted their ships in a very temporary and incomplete manner, before they encountered another gale on the 16th, but not so violent as that of the 5th and 6th. After suffering great hardships, they reached Port Royal on the 26th. The Berwick was so much damaged, that the captain bore away for England: the Stirling Castle struck on some rocks off the coast of Hispaniola, and went to pieces on the night of the 5th. The Phoenix frigate was wrecked off the Island of Cuba; the Scarborough frigate, and the

Victor and Barbadoes sloops of war foundered, and all their crews perished: the Ulysses and Pomona reached Jamaica with the loss of their masts, and after having been obliged to throw several of their guns overboard,

A circumstance was noticed respecting this dreadful hurricane, which though by no means uncommon in these latitudes, is not easily explained or accounted for:—while some parts were exposed to all its violence, other parts, both of the land and sea, were completely calm, though at a very inconsiderable distance from the former. Several men of war, among which were the Pallas, Diamond, Lowestoff, and Pelican, were at sea, during the storm, and near the time of its devastation, but they returned untouched by it.

Since the commencement of the war in which Great Britain was engaged, first with her American colonies, and afterwards with France and Spain, she had captured as many merchant vessels from her enemies, as they had taken from her; at least if their numbers were not equal, the balance in point of importance and the richness of their cargoes, was considerably in favour of this country. The year 1780, however, was destined to turn the balance most decidedly and alarmingly against her in this respect. Early in the season the French sent out eleven sail of the line under Monsiour De Bousset, which joined the Spanish fleet at Cadiz without molestation from our squadrons. The combined fleet were cruising off Cape Finisterre, when they fell in with the outward-bound East and West India fleet, consisting of five large ships belonging to the East India Company, eighteen vessels laden with provisions and stores of all descriptions, for the use of the fleet and garrisons in the West Indies; in these had been embarked a regiment of foot for Jamaica; and of forty merchant ships for different parts of the West Indies. This numerous and valuable fleet were under the protec-

tion of the *Ramillies* of seventy-four guns, Captain Moutray, and the *Thetis* and *Southampton* frigates. When the combined squadron were first discovered, Captain Moutray supposing them to be neutral merchant vessels, did not think it necessary to alter his course; as soon as he had reason to suspect his mistake, he made the signal for the merchant vessels to haul on the wind, himself in the *Ramillies* taking the lead: this signal, however, which might have saved a great part of the convoy, was very tardily and imperfectly obeyed: on the contrary, many of the merchant ships, instead of hauling on a wind, bore away, and endeavoured to escape the danger by that means. The consequence of this measure was, that on the morning of the 9th of August, those ships which had disobeyed the signal, found themselves close to, and in the very middle of the enemy's squadron, to which they became an easy prey. Out of the sixty-three vessels of which the convoy was composed, only two store-ships and six merchantmen escaped by obeying the signals, and following the track of the men of war. The value of those which were captured was estimated at a million and a half sterling: the number of prisoners taken amounted to two thousand eight hundred and sixty-five.

While this capture afforded reasonable matter of triumph to the French and Spaniards, considerable chagrin and disapprobation were felt and expressed in Great Britain: the popular clamour was so loud and general, that administration thought it prudent to send orders to the admiral commanding at Jamaica, to bring Captain Moutray to a court-martial, by which he was sentenced to be suspended from the command of the *Ramillies*, on the ground of ignorance or negligence in not ascertaining that the ships when first seen were those of the enemy, and immediately taking such measures as would have effectually saved the convoy under his care and protection. That his being brought to a court-martial, and con-

demned, though to a lenient punishment, proceeded rather from a regard to the popular clamour, than from any suspicion or belief that he had not performed his duty, is evident from the circumstance, that a few months afterwards he was appointed captain of the *Edgar* of seventy-four guns. We shall conclude our account of the naval transactions of this year, by detailing the particulars of some very gallant actions that were fought, either with single ships or with small squadrons. British skill and bravery have always been most conspicuous on these occasions; and even at those periods of our naval history, when regular engagements with the enemy's fleets too frequently terminated in a manner by no means decisive, or even very honourable for us, the battles fought by single ships, or small squadrons, served to redeem or to preserve alive and vigorous our naval superiority.

On the 15th of June the *Apollo* frigate had a desperate and well-fought action, near Ostend, with the *Stanislaus*, a merchant frigate of thirty-two guns, having however at the time of the engagement only twenty-six twelve-pounders mounted. The battle commenced soon after twelve o'clock at noon: the *Stanislaus* cautiously avoiding coming to close quarters, but on the other hand endeavouring to make the land: after the battle had continued upwards of an hour, Captain Pownall, who commanded the *Apollo*, was unfortunately killed: the command then devolved on Lieutenant Pellew, who after having bravely fought his ship for upwards of an hour longer, still pursuing the enemy, perceived that in the chace he had got into shallow water: on this, he deemed it prudent to bring to, intending, however, if possible, to renew the action, after he had repaired the damages that his ship had sustained. In the mean time the enemy was in a dreadful state; she had suffered much more than the *Apollo*, and in her attempts to escape, had got a-ground. Both vessels

were now within a very few miles of Ostend; and the enemy finding she had no other chance of safety, fired a gun to leeward, thereby claiming the protection afforded by the coast of a neutral power: this gun being answered from the garrison, Lieutenant Pellew desisted from his intention of renewing the action.

On the 10th of August the *Flora* of thirty-six guns, Captain Williams, perceived near Ushant a large ship and cutter about four miles to leeward: he immediately made sail towards her, and she seemed inclined to wait his approach, while the cutter stood off and on. A little after five o'clock, the two frigates were very near each other; and the engagement immediately began, and was carried on for nearly an hour, the vessels gradually closing and approaching: about this time the wheel of the *Flora* was shot away; nearly the whole of her rigging cut to pieces; in this condition she fell on board of the enemy, and continued the battle thus for fifteen minutes, causing dreadful slaughter to her opponent. The Frenchmen were unable to bear this dreadful mode of fighting, for they deserted their guns, and made a desperate attempt to board the *Flora*; in this, however, they were repulsed, and the *Flora*'s men, having boarded in their turn, drove the enemy from their quarters, and actually struck their colours. The French frigate proved to be *La Nymphe*, commanded by the Chevalier De Romain: she was pierced for forty, but mounted only thirty-two guns, and carried two hundred and ninety-one men: she had sixty-three killed and seventy-three wounded. The *Flora* had nine killed and twenty-seven wounded.

A gallant action performed by a letter-of-marque deserves to be particularly noticed and recorded, not merely on account of the bravery displayed, but as affording a proof (if proof were wanting) that the courage of British seamen is equally conspicuous, in private vessels of war, as in his Majesty's navy.



The *Ellen*, of Bristol, commanded by Captain Borrowdale, mounted eighteen six-pounders; her crew consisted of sixty-four people, one half of whom were either boys or landmen; sixteen of these were trained to serve as marines by an officer who was going as passenger to join his regiment at Jamaica. The *Ellen* sailed on the 14th of March, and on the 16th of April, a vessel was descried to windward, which as she neared, appeared to be of the same size and force as the *Ellen*. As it was of much more importance to Captain Borrowdale to hasten his voyage than to fight, he did not alter his course, but thought it prudent, however, to have every thing in readiness for action. When the strange vessel came within random shot, she hoisted Spanish colours and fired a gun. Captain Borrowdale now perceiving that it would be impossible to escape, determined to exert himself to the utmost to defend his own vessel, and if possible to capture the enemy; and in this endeavour he was most cheerfully seconded by his whole crew. In order that the action might not be begun till the *Ellen* was close along side, and thus might bring her guns to bear with the greatest certainty and effect, Captain Borrowdale at first shewed American colours. Besides the usual loading of the guns, he gave orders that a bag of grape-shot should be added; thus prepared, he waited till the ships were within hail, in the mean time haranguing his little crew in a most seaman-like manner. He requested them to take good aim, to be cool and collected, and above all, not to throw away their fire, till from the vicinity of the vessels, they were sure it would tell. The enemy were now nearly along side: Captain Borrowdale instantly ordered the American flag to be taken down, and the British to be hoisted in its place: he then poured a broadside, accompanied with a well-directed fire from the marines; the effect was instantaneous in clearing the quarter-deck of the enemy, and throwing them into complete confusion.

She fell to leeward, and the *Ellen* was thus enabled to bring her lee guns to bear upon her. No chance of safety now remained but in flight; this she accordingly commenced, but she was quickly and successfully pursued by the *Ellen*, who again coming up with her, poured in another broadside. A running fight was thus maintained for upwards of an hour and a half, when the Spanish vessel, completely disabled and subdued, struck her colours: she proved to be a sloop of war, mounting sixteen heavy six-pounders, besides swivels and small arms, and carrying one hundred and four men: she had seven killed and wounded in the action. The *Ellen* had one man killed and three wounded.

The fifteenth parliament of Great Britain met on the 10th of November 1780. It was remarkable for containing a very large proportion of new members: no less than one hundred and thirteen obtaining seats in it. Very few of the counties were contested; this was owing partly to the general poverty of the country, and partly to an opinion entertained by many, that it was impossible by sitting in parliament to be of any service to the nation. There was, however, one subject, which made the meeting of the new parliament to be expected with a good deal of anxiety. Mr. Laurens, late president of the Congress, coming from Philadelphia, in an American packet, on an embassy to Holland, was taken in the beginning of September 1780, by the *Vestal* frigate, Captain Keppel. When the packet was perceived to be in danger, the papers which Mr. Laurens had with him were thrown overboard, but they were saved by the intrepidity and dexterity of a British sailor. Among these papers were several relative to an eventual treaty between America and Holland; this treaty appeared to have been under discussion for nearly two years, but Mr. Laurens was empowered by his instructions to complete and ratify it. The Dutch, however, on this occasion, had acted with

their usual caution; the treaty was only to take place when the independence of the American States should have been confirmed by a peace, and acknowledged by Great Britain; and it did not run in the name of the Dutch Republic, but purported only to be a treaty between the city of Amsterdam and America: on the part of the city, the pensionary Van Berkel was named as the negociator.

The discovery of this treaty, though thus imperfect and inofficial, tended greatly to aggravate the suspicion and ill-will, which had existed for some time between Great Britain and the Dutch: Sir Joseph Yorke, our ambassador at the Hague, was instructed to demand the punishment of Van Berkel; this demand was met by an evasive reply, and our ambassador perceiving that the States were by no means disposed either to disavow the conduct of the pensionary, or to censure him, quitted the Hague: soon afterwards, about the close of the year, a declaration of hostilities was issued against Holland.

Thus entangled in a new war, the people of Great Britain looked forward with considerable anxiety to the meeting of parliament; for though hostilities had not actually commenced between this country and Holland, at the time the parliament actually met, yet the dispute had proceeded so far, that no other issue was anticipated. In the speech delivered from the throne, the arduous situation in which the nation was placed was acknowledged; the formidable nature, the unjust views, and the inordinate ambition of the combination formed by the house of Bourbon, were dwelt upon at considerable length. It was strongly insisted upon, that in the assistance which they were giving to the American colonies, they were actuated not by any desire to benefit them, but solely by a determination, if possible, to effect the ruin of Great Britain. It was then acknowledged, that by the liberal supplies which the late parliament had voted,

his Majesty's forces, both by land and sea, had been enabled to oppose the formidable power of America and her allies. His Majesty, however, lamented, that additional supplies, and consequently additional burdens would still be necessary; but the parliament were desired to grant only such supplies, as they should deem requisite for the honour and security of the nation. When the address was moved, an amendment was proposed, tending to blame ministers for the whole of their conduct in the American war, which, however, was thrown out, there appearing, on a division, a majority of 212 for the original motion, while only 130 supported the amendment.

In the course of this session, parliament granted the following supplies for the sea service; *viz.* for the maintenance of ninety thousand men, including twenty thousand three hundred and seventeen marines, 4,446,000*l.*; for the ordinary, including half-pay to the sea and marine officers, 386,261*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*; for the buildings, repairs, &c. of the navy, 617,016*l.*; for the ordnance required for the sea service, 234,000*l.*; and for discharging the navy debt, 3,200,000*l.*; making a total of 8,936,277*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* As the whole supplies granted for the year amounted to 25,380,324*l.* it is evident that the supplies for the navy, were rather more than a third of the whole.

The flag officers employed this year were Admiral Sir Thomas Pye, at Portsmouth; Vice-admiral Milbank at Plymouth; Vice-admiral Roddam at the Nore. In the Channel fleet, there were Vice-admiral Darby in the *Britannia* of one hundred guns; Rear-admiral Digby in the *Prince George* of ninety-eight; Rear-admiral Sir J. Ross in the *Royal George* of one hundred; and Rear-admiral Kempenfelt in the *Victory* of one hundred. This last admiral afterwards had the command of the *Royal George*. In the North Sea, Vice-admiral Hyde Parker, in the *Fortitude* seventy-four, was the flag-officer. In North America there were Vice-admiral Arbuthnot in the

Royal Oak seventy-four, and Rear-admiral Graves in the London ninety-eight. Off the coast of Newfoundland, Rear-admiral Edwards in the Portland of fifty guns, commanded. In the Leeward Islands there were, Admiral Sir George Rodney in the Formidable of ninety-eight guns; Rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood in the *Barfleur* of ninety-eight guns; Rear-admiral Drake in the *Princessa* of seventy-six guns; and Commodore Affleck in the *Bedford* of seventy-four guns. On the Jamaica station, Vice-admiral Sir Peter Parker was placed. Commodore Johnstone hoisted his flag in the *Romney* of fifty guns, to go on an expedition to the Cape, and Vice-admiral Sir C. Hughes was dispatched to the East Indies in the *Superb* of seventy-four guns; these two appointments took place, in consequence of the war with Holland.

By far the most important naval event that happened in Europe this year resulted from the war in which Great Britain and Holland were now engaged. It was well known that the Dutch were making great preparations in their ports; this circumstance, the vicinity of those ports to our coasts, and the remembrance of the naval fame which the Dutch had acquired in their last wars with England, made our government extremely desirous to meet their preparations with an adequate force. This force was stationed in the Downs, for the purpose of more narrowly and closely watching the Dutch fleet, when it should put to sea; it consisted of four ships of the line, one of fifty, and one of forty-four guns, and some frigates: the command of it was bestowed on Vice-admiral Parker.

Soon after this, information was received that a fleet of Dutch frigates was at sea for the purpose of intercepting our Baltic fleet: Admiral Parker was therefore ordered to take the merchantmen under his protection, and to proceed with them to Leith roads. The Dutch had also a fleet of merchantmen going to

the Baltic, which they were naturally anxious to protect; accordingly, seven ships of the line, carrying from fifty-four to seventy-four guns, ten frigates, and five sloops, were prepared, and sent to sea, under the command of Rear-admiral Zoutman. This fleet was afterwards joined by the *Charlestown*, an American frigate, of a new and extraordinary construction. When she was built, it was intended that she should mount sixty-four guns, and her length and dimensions were proportioned to that number; from some cause or other, not explained, this intention was given up, and she was fitted out with thirty-six guns, on one deck most of these were thirty-two pounders. About the beginning of July, the merchant vessels, under the protection of the Dutch fleet, sailed from the *Texel*.

As soon as it was known that the Dutch fleet were so much superior to that under the command of Admiral Parker, Commodore Stewart, with the *Berwick* of seventy-four guns, and the *Tartar* and *Belle Poule* frigates, was ordered to join him; this he accomplished a short time before the hostile fleets met.

Admiral Parker had cruised so long in the North Seas, in compliance with his instructions to afford every protection in his power to the Baltic fleet, that his vessels, in general, were in very bad order; besides this, very few of his squadron were originally fit for hard service. In all these respects, as well as in the weight of metal, which his ships carried, Admiral Parker was inferior to the Dutch.

On the 5th of August, at day-break, as the British Admiral was steering towards the coast of England, with the Baltic fleet under his convoy, the Dutch squadron, under Admiral Zoutman, was discovered near the *Dogger Bank*, steering to the Northward, in order to gain the Atlantic Ocean without passing through the British Channel; it had some merchant vessels under its escort. It was quite impossible for the hostile fleets not to discover each other, as the

courses they were respectively steering, must have brought them very near together.

As soon as Admiral Parker ascertained that it was the Dutch fleet, he ordered the merchant ships under his protection to separate, under the escort of the Tartar frigate; when this was done, he made the signal for a general chace; and at six o'clock another signal was made, to form a line of battle abreast, at two cables length asunder, for the purpose of drawing his ships towards the enemy in a regular form.

It was soon apparent that the Dutch Admiral did not mean to avoid an action; he made the signal for the vessels under his protection to separate from the ships of war, but only to a short distance to the leeward of his line of battle, which he formed on the larboard tack.

It was a very clear and fine morning; there was but a slight breeze of wind from the north east; the British fleet was to the windward of the Dutch, who lay close to the wind under an easy sail. As soon as the British fleet arrived within pistol shot of the enemy, they hauled their wind together, and began the action: this was about eight o'clock.

By the manner in which the British ships bore down upon the Dutch, the latter might have damaged them considerably with a raking fire: they did not, however, take advantage of this circumstance, but allowed Admiral Parker to place his ships in the position he thought proper without interrupting him by a single shot.

The British admiral did not make the signal for battle, till all his ships had ranged themselves alongside their opponents. The first vessel on our side which commenced firing was the Berwick; she soon, however, was obliged to quit the line in consequence of the loss of her mizen-topmast; but in a short time, she once more got into action with the van ship of the enemy. The Dolphin also was compelled to make sail and to quit the line, in order to weather the van

of the Dutch squadron; and the Buffalo was incapable from the damage she received early in the engagement, to bear down and close with her opponent. This disaster of the Buffalo considerably deranged the van of the British line, while the van of the enemy having suffered very little, Admiral Parker did not find himself in a condition to prevent them from bearing away unmolested. After they had sailed a little way from the scene of action, they made a show of again waiting to be attacked, by sometimes taking the wind upon one side, and sometimes upon the other; these manœuvres had, however, no other real object than to conceal their intention of getting off before the wind. The cannonade continued without intermission for three hours and forty minutes: some of our ships fired two thousand five hundred shot each; and the battle, through the whole of it, displayed great obstinacy and courage on both sides.

The Dutch had many advantages in this fight; their weight of metal was greatly superior to ours; they had several frigates of a large size, particularly the American frigate already noticed and described, which did not content themselves, as frigates in general do, during an engagement, with keeping at a distance, and occasionally affording assistance, by towing out of the line the ships that may be disabled, but were closely and regularly intermixed with their line, lying in the openness between the line of battle ships, where they took a very effective part in the action, and did much mischief to our vessels, by firing at their rigging, while the whole of their attention was necessarily directed to their opponents.

At twelve o'clock, when Admiral Parker hauled down the signal for battle, the ships on both sides lay like logs on the water, so completely unmanageable, that the utmost efforts of their respective crews could not keep them within the distance necessary to continue the battle. It was observed that the English ships were principally damaged in their masts and



rigging, so that they could not pursue the enemy, while the damage of the Dutch ships lay almost entirely in their hulls, which were dreadfully shattered. This circumstance seems to prove that the English were more anxious to destroy their opponents, while the Dutch were more desirous to secure their own escape, if necessary, by incapacitating their opponents from pursuing them.

One of the best ships belonging to the Dutch, the *Hollandia* of sixty-four guns, went down during the night after the battle, in such a sudden and unexpected manner, that her crew were obliged to abandon her, without being able to bring off their wounded companions. As she sunk in shallow water, her pendant was discovered and taken off the next morning, as a trophy, by one of the English frigates.

It may well be supposed that the loss of men on both sides was very great, when we reflect that the ships were very close to each other, and that hard fighting and not manœuvring was the object both with the English and Dutch: the former, who were by far the least sufferers, had one hundred and four men killed, and three hundred and thirty-nine wounded in the seven ships. Of these twenty were killed, and sixty-seven wounded in the *Fortitude* only. There was one circumstance occurred in this action of a peculiarly melancholy nature; Captain Macartney was killed, while his son, a boy of seven years old, was standing by his side: the fortitude which this boy had displayed during the whole battle, and the firmness, mixed with due sorrow, with which he bore his father's death, were the wonder and admiration of the whole ship's crew. The loss of the Dutch far exceeded that which we suffered; according to the best intelligence, it amounted to eleven hundred men in killed, wounded, and sunk.

Admiral Parker, in the official account he gave of the action, while he did justice to the gallantry of his own countrymen, bore witness also to the courage of

his opponents ; whereas the Dutch gazettes were filled with gasconades and exaggerated accounts of the battle ; written in a style ill-suited to the phlegm of their nation, and containing such an unfaithful picture of the whole affair, as would not have been expected from those who actually did not require the aid of falsehood, to establish or prove their courage.

The consequences which resulted from this battle sufficiently prove that the Dutch were the greatest sufferers : the merchant vessels that Admiral Zoutman had been sent out expressly to convoy and protect, returned home in great disorder and confusion ; all idea of continuing their voyage was abandoned ; so that the naval stores which they intended by means of this fleet to have procured from the Baltic, could not this year be obtained. The Dutch government, however, either because they wished their subjects and the world to believe that they were really victorious on this occasion, or because this was the first naval action of any value or consequence, in which Holland had been engaged for much the greater part of the century, were lavish in the marks of favour and honour which they bestowed upon Admiral Zoutman and his officers. Count Bentinck, who commanded the *Batavia*, and who, though mortally wounded, and informed that his ship was almost sinking, would not quit his post, was soothed, during the short time he lived by every testimony of regard that his country could bestow. He expired a few days after he was landed ; but in that short interval, he was created rear-admiral of Holland and Freisland, and appointed adjutant-general to the Prince Stadtholder ; and his funeral was conducted and attended in such a manner as rendered it not more honourable to the brave dead than to the grateful living.

In England the impressions made on the nation by this battle, were not of such a proud and satisfactory nature ; it was the general belief, and this belief was confirmed by what fell from Admiral Parker, that if

the British fleet had consisted of a sufficient number of ships, or even if the ships which formed it had been in a good condition, the battle would have been much more decisive and honourable. Admiral Parker was known not to be a favourite of the ministers; and this circumstance was looked upon as the reason, why he had been sent to sea with an inadequate force.

Whether to sooth the admiral under his discontent and dissatisfaction, or to convince the nation that the government regarded the battle on the Dogger Bank as a real and an honourable victory, the extraordinary favour was shewn him, of a royal visit on his arrival with his squadron at the Nore. - It was naturally imagined, that some substantial mark of royal favour would be bestowed on the admiral; or, at least, that this visit was intended to be accompanied with some honourable proof of the sovereign's satisfaction at his conduct. This, however, was not the case; the veteran admiral thought himself ill used, in not having had given him an adequate force to destroy the Dutch fleet, and he was too blunt and rough to conceal his dissatisfaction, or to compromise the loss of the victory which he knew he might have obtained, had justice been done him, by the acceptance of any marks of honour or favour. It is said, that he hinted both his dissatisfaction, and intention of retiring, in the following words, addressed to his sovereign; "That he wished him younger officers and better ships! *he* was grown too old for the service."

Soon after Admiral Rodney returned from New York to his station in the West Indies, he and General Vaughan, who commanded the land forces there, received such information respecting the Island of St. Vincent, as determined them to attempt its capture. It was represented to have suffered so much by the late hurricane, as to be incapable of much resistance. On this representation, Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan went against it, and

actually landed some troops; but it was soon discovered, that the information on which they had proceeded on this enterprise was incorrect, as the island was in a very respectable state of defence; and the enemy, having learnt of the intended attack, were fully prepared to meet and resist it. No alternative therefore remained, but to reembark the troops. As, however, the forces had been collected for this enterprise, the commanders took advantage of the circumstance, to direct their efforts against the Dutch islands, as soon as they heard of the war between this country and Holland.

The principal island which the Dutch possessed in the West Indies was St. Eustatius; which, though little better than a barren rock, had long been the seat of a lucrative and prodigious traffic: it was considered and used as a free port; and to it the Americans resorted with all the plunder they had procured from the capture of our vessels in that sea. This island, thus barren by nature, but rich by the accumulation of spoil, is remarkably strong, and well fortified; there is, indeed, only one place where a landing is practicable. It might, therefore, have proved an arduous and dearly-earned conquest, had its inhabitants exerted themselves in its defence, and kept in proper order the fortifications which had been erected on it for that purpose; but they were too intent on commerce, to be prepared for war.

The British fleet and army, in order to conceal the real object of the expedition, at first appeared off the coasts of Martinique; whence they suddenly turned, and surrounded the Island of St. Eustatius: their force was much greater than was necessary for the object in view; and, relying on this and on the unprepared state of the enemy, they immediately sent a peremptory summons to the governor, allowing him only an hour to surrender the island and its dependencies. The governor, unapprized of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, and, conse-

quently, totally unprepared for defence, surrendered it without delay.

The wealth that fell into the possession of the conquerors, exceeded greatly their expectations, and all the information they had received respecting it. The whole island seemed one great storehouse of the richest merchandise. The beach itself was spread over with hogsheads of tobacco and sugar. Some idea may be formed of the importance of this island to the commercial people of that quarter of the world, when it is stated, on the authority of the official letter of Admiral Rodney, that a range of warehouses in the lower town of St. Eustatius, about a mile and a quarter in length, were let at the enormous sum of 1,200,000*l.* sterling per annum. The value of all the commodities that fell into the hands of the captors, it was impossible accurately to compute, or even to conjecture: the lowest estimate rated them at three millions sterling. This, however, did not comprehend the shipping. One hundred and fifty vessels, many of them with cargoes of great value, were taken in the bay; besides a Dutch frigate, of thirty-eight guns, and five other smaller vessels.

St. Martin and Saba, small islands, appendages and neighbouring to St. Eustatius, were also reduced, and possession taken of them in the same easy manner. Admiral Rodney having received intelligence that a fleet, richly laden, had sailed from St. Eustatius a very short time before his arrival, under the protection of a single ship of war, dispatched Captain Reynolds, with the *Monarch*, *Panther*, and *Sybil*, in pursuit of them. The day after Captain Reynolds left the island, he overtook the Dutch fleet; and the admiral refusing to strike his colours, a short engagement ensued, in which he was killed, and his ship and the merchantmen were captured.

As we had gained possession of the Dutch islands thus early, it seemed as if we were careless about retaining them; for they were left in such an incom-

plete state of defence, that on the 26th November, they were surprised and retaken by a body of French troops, under the command of the Marquis De Bouilli.

No sooner were hostilities proclaimed between Great Britain and Holland, than a great number of privateers were fitted out from our ports, well armed, in the hope and expectation of collecting a rich and valuable booty. Several of these, belonging to Bristol, having united, and formed themselves into a regular and powerful squadron, resolved not to content themselves with the delay and uncertainty attending captures by sea, but to attempt an enterprise at once bold and daring; and which, if it succeeded, would enrich them greatly: they accordingly proceeded to the West Indies, and having entered the rivers Demerary and Issequibo, the navigation of which is extremely intricate and dangerous: they seized a number of vessels lying there, most of which were laden with very valuable cargoes. The settlements themselves, which stand on these rivers, and take their names respectively from them, alarmed at this proceeding, and apprehensive that they would be plundered and ill treated by the crews of the privateers, made a tender of their submission to the governor of Barbadoes, on the same terms that had been granted to the inhabitants of St. Eustatius. Better terms, however, were granted them; whether, because they had come forward with a voluntary offer of surrender, or for some other reason, it is not easy to conjecture. While the inhabitants of St. Eustatius were plundered in a most shameful and unprecedented manner, those of Demerary, Issequibo, and the Dutch settlements in the Main, had their property protected and secured.

It is now necessary to look to the other naval operations in the West Indies. France was determined not to carry on the war there on a small scale; but, on the other hand, to send such a naval force as should both assist the Americans, and bring our

islands and fleets in the West Indies, at least into great jeopardy. Accordingly, on the 22d of March, the Count De Grasse sailed from Brest, with a most formidable fleet, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line, one ship of fifty-four guns, and a convoy amounting to two or three hundred ships: on board of the men of war and transports were six thousand troops. Twenty sail of the line proceeded directly for Fort Royal Bay, in Martinique; the remaining five sail separated from the main body, and directed their course, under M. De Suffrein, for the East Indies. Their operations will afterwards furnish materials for long and interesting detail; at present, we shall confine ourselves to the fleet under the Count De Grasse.

As it was of the utmost consequence that this fleet should be prevented, if possible, from joining the squadron which the French already had in the West Indies, consisting of eight ships of the line; whereby it would have been rendered much superior to that under Sir George Rodney, this admiral dispatched Sir Samuel Hood, with seventeen sail of the line, to cruise off Fort Royal Bay, for that purpose; he himself continuing at St. Eustatius, with the *Sandwich*, of ninety, and the *Triumph*, of seventy-four guns. On the 28th of April, Sir Samuel Hood was informed by his cruizers, that a large fleet, with a numerous convoy, were in sight to the windward of Port Salines, in the Island of Martinique. In order to prevent this fleet from getting into Fort Royal, Sir Samuel Hood determined to continue the line ahead, and thus get as much as possible to windward, and close to the Fort by day-break. On the morning of the 29th, the enemy were distinctly seen: the ships that formed the convoy were turning round the Diamond Rock, which lies half way between Fort Royal and Port Salines, while the French fleet was drawn up in a line of battle abreast, in order to protect them. Admiral Hood made every endeavour to bring the enemy

to action, but as they were to windward, it lay entirely in their power, either to fight or not; and, if they chose to fight, they could range themselves for that purpose at whatever distance they pleased, Sir Samuel Hood, from his position, having no command over them in those respects. The Count De Grasse did not absolutely decline a battle, but he chose a long-shot distance; so that, though many shot were fired on both sides, very few took effect. The battle, if so it may be called, lasted three hours; some of our vessels, indeed, did manœuvre, so as to get near the enemy, and their loss in killed and wounded was considerable; while others, notwithstanding all the efforts and skill of their captains and men, not being able to close with the enemy, suffered little or no loss. There were only in the whole fleet, thirty-six slain, and one hundred and sixty-one wounded. On the subsequent day, the French admiral seemed disposed to fight in a more decided manner, and Sir Samuel Hood was by no means backward on his part. As it was of the utmost moment, both for the purpose of rendering the engagement more close, and of giving the advantage in it to the British, that they should gain the wind of the enemy, Sir Samuel Hood manœuvred his fleet to accomplish that object; and in this manœuvre he would have succeeded, and thus would have cut off and destroyed nearly half of the French fleet, had not some unforeseen and unexpected circumstances occurred. These were principally the effect which this manœuvre had on the disabled ships, which were found to be in such a critical state, that the English admiral judged it absolutely necessary to bear away for Antigua: the French seemed more eager and active in pursuit, than they had been in battle; and the *Torbay* having fallen considerably astern, received considerable damage, before she could be supported and relieved.

Soon after this, Sir George Rodney being informed that the French meant to attempt the capture of



some of our West India islands, sailed from St. Eustatius, to counteract their designs. The French at first attempted the conquest of St. Lucia, but not being able to accomplish this, the Marquis De Bouilli invaded the Island of Tobago. This island made a long, and most vigorous defence; but not being succoured as was expected, it was compelled to capitulate. M. De Grasse having now accomplished the principal objects for which he was sent to the West Indies, after having escorted a large convoy on its way to Europe, proceeded with his fleet to the Chesapeak, to afford assistance to the Americans. Sir George Rodney being obliged to return to England, on account of the bad state of his health, Sir Samuel Hood sailed with a squadron to the Chesapeak, in order to counteract the designs of the French admiral. Before, however, we follow Sir Samuel Hood with his squadron to the Chesapeak, it will be proper to attend to Admiral Arbuthnot, who commanded on the American station. At the beginning of the year, he was moored with the large ships in Gardiner's Island Harbour, at the west end of Long Island, for the purpose of watching the motions of the French squadron in Newport Harbour, Rhode Island. As, however, in this situation he did not receive accurate information of the state of the enemy's fleet, he determined to put to sea, and look into the harbour in which they were lying. On this expedition, he encountered a very severe storm, in which one of his squadron was completely lost, and another greatly damaged: in consequence of this disaster, the admiral returned to his old station in Gardiner's Bay. As soon as the enemy were informed of the crippled state of the British fleet, they meditated an attack upon it. As Gardiner's Bay was, in a great measure, open and unprotected by land, Admiral Arbuthnot went to New York, to counsel with Sir Henry Clinton, about sending some troops to defend and fortify it, leaving Admiral Graves in the temporary com-

mand of the squadron. This officer placed his ships in such a strong and commanding position, that the enemy were compelled to give up all thoughts of annoying them, either by sea or land. As soon as Admiral Arbuthnot was secure from molestation or attack, he directed his whole attention to refitting his ships, and preparing them for sea. Scarcely had he accomplished this, when he received information that the enemy's fleet had sailed from Newport on the 10th of April, therefore he proceeded to the southward, under a press of sail, in pursuit of them. Three days afterwards, he gained intelligence of them, and learnt at the same time, that they consisted of eight sail of the line, three frigates, and a tender. On the 16th, the Iris frigate made the signal that she had discovered the enemy steering for the Capes of Virginia; a few hours afterwards, the British fleet having neared them considerably, the line was completely formed, and the ships close hauled on the larboard tack. At one o'clock P.M. the enemy's squadron having also completed their line of battle ahead, but being apprehensive of the consequences if they engaged to windward, on account of the rough sea and squally weather, wore, and formed their line to the leeward of the British line. By half past two o'clock, the van and the centre of the British were completely engaged, and in half an hour afterwards the French line was broken. They however wore their ships, and formed their line again, on a different tack. It was therefore necessary for the British admiral to change the position of his fleet; accordingly, he made the signal for them also to wear, and to bear down upon the enemy. This signal, however, could not be promptly and completely obeyed, on account of the damage which the Robust, Europe, and Prudent, the headmost ships, had sustained in their rigging. This circumstance, and a thick haze which came on about this time, prevented the British admiral from following the enemy, and obtaining a

decisive victory. This battle, however, was productive of one good consequence—the French admiral, instead of pursuing his course to Virginia, steered to the northward, and regained his former position at Newport, in Rhode Island. On the 2d of July, Admiral Arbuthnot having obtained permission to return to England, the command of the British fleet devolved on Rear-admiral Graves.

On the 25th of August, Sir Samuel Hood arrived off the Chesapeak, with fourteen sail of the line, some frigates, and a fire-ship. He expected to have found here Admiral Graves, with the fleet for New York: in this, however, he was disappointed. After, therefore, sending a frigate to inform the admiral of his arrival, he proceeded with his squadron to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 28th. On that very day, intelligence was received that the French admiral De Barras had sailed three days before to the southward. As it was of the utmost importance to prevent the junction of this squadron with the fleet under the Count De Grasse, Admiral Graves proceeded after them on the 31st of August, with five ships of the line and a fifty gun ship. On the 5th of September, the French fleet, consisting of twenty-four sail of the line, were discovered at anchor near Cape Henry, within the mouth of the Chesapeak. They were evidently taken unawares, and had scarcely time to slip their cables, and stand out to sea in order of battle.

To oppose this formidable fleet, the British admiral had only nineteen sail of the line: yet, notwithstanding his great superiority, the Count De Grasse did not seem disposed to come to a close and regular engagement. Indeed, it was not his object nor his interest to fight; it was of much more importance to him to retain possession of the mouths of the Chesapeak, as thus he could be of infinitely greater service to the American cause, than by any victory he might obtain over the British fleet. Besides this

consideration, although he had the superiority in the number of his ships, yet they were very incompletely manned; one thousand five hundred of his seamen being at that time employed in conveying some troops up the River James. Yet, notwithstanding the caution of the French admiral, Admiral Drake, with the rear division, by a skilful and judicious manœuvre, got up with the French van, and treated them very roughly. They were soon compelled to bear away, while the Count De Grasse, still retaining his caution, edged down to receive and support them. As this partial engagement took place in shallow water, near the shore, and a little before the approach of night, the British admiral did not think it prudent to pursue the enemy; while on the other hand, the Count De Grasse having secured the entrance to the Chesapeak, and thus placed himself so that he could cover the arrival of M. De Barras, was by no means disposed to renew the action. His being able to maintain his position, may justly be regarded as what signed the doom of Lord Cornwallis's army; for, could the British admiral have either defeated him, or forced him to leave the entrance to the Chesapeak open, the troops from Rhode Island could not have been landed, and added to those which already were opposed to the British general.

Nearly about the same period of the year, two fleets sailed; the one from France, the other from England for the Cape of Good Hope and the East Indies. A secret expedition had long been the subject of rumour in this country; the object and design of which were variously surmised. It is probable, that at first the Spanish colonies in South America were intended to have been attacked; but, on the breaking out of the Dutch war, this design was laid aside, and the Cape of Good Hope was substituted as the object of attack. For this purpose, a squadron consisting of one ship of seventy-four, one of sixty-four, three of fifty guns, three frigates, and several

armed transports, sailed from Spithead on the 13th of March, under the command of Commodore Johnstone. The French government, by means of a spy, whom at this time they employed in London, learnt the design and object of this expedition, almost as soon as it was planned, and determined to oppose it by an adequate force. M. De Suffrein, therefore, was dispatched from Brest on the 22d of March, with four sail of the line, a sixty-four-gun ship, and some frigates.

Commodore Johnstone found it necessary to stop at Port Praya, in St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, for the purpose of taking in wood, water, and live stock, for his voyage. As he conceived himself here perfectly safe, not only because he had no suspicion of a hostile force in those seas, but because he was under the protection of a neutral territory, his vessels were suffered to lie at anchor in a very confused and promiscuous manner. Of this the French admiral, by some means or other, got information; and accordingly he determined to attack the British fleet in this position. On the 16th of April, the day of the attack, nearly one thousand five hundred persons were absent from Commodore Johnstone's squadron; the commodore himself was also employed at the time, giving directions about altering the position of some of his ships, which had drifted too near together.

Under these circumstances, M. De Suffrein, regardless of the rights of neutral nations, and well assured that the Portuguese, even if they were so disposed, were not in a condition to make their neutrality respected, having separated from his convoy, and hauling close round to the eastern point of land, which formed one side of the bay, with five sail of the line, very soon reached the centre of the British fleet, the French ships firing on both sides as they passed. They successively dropped anchor as they came opposite and close to our ships, when a most tremen-

dous fire began. The engagement continued about an hour and a half, when M. De Suffrein finding that his ships were suffering very dreadfully, cut his cable, and stood to sea; the rest of the squadron following his example, except the Hannibal, which remained for some time longer exposed to the fire of the whole English fleet. Commodore Johnstone, after some delay, which he attributed to Captain Sutton, of the Isis, pursued the French, but he was not able to overtake them. When the battle first began, the East India men, taken unprepared, and not accustomed to fighting, were embarrassed and in some confusion; but, in a very short time, they recovered from their disorder, and several of them displayed considerable intrepidity and skill.

Before Commodore Johnstone arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, he learned that M. De Suffrein, with his squadron, and the troops he had carried out, was already landed there: to attack this settlement now, therefore, was hopeless; but, having received information that some Dutch ships, richly laden, were lying in Saldanha Bay, which lies about fourteen leagues to the northward of the Cape Town and Fort, he determined to attempt their capture. It happened fortunately, both for the planning and execution of this enterprise, that our seamen had a minute and accurate knowledge of that bay. The only thing to be apprehended, and guarded against was, that the enemy, gaining early intelligence that they were to be attacked, should destroy the ships which they knew they could not protect or defend. It was, therefore, necessary to be both expeditious and secret, through the whole operations. The commodore himself undertook to pilot the squadron; which he performed in such a masterly manner, that, though on account of the wind, and the turnings of the bay, the ships were obliged to traverse nearly the whole way, yet they reached the destined spot, before the enemy were apprized of their approach. The Dutch had

just time to cut their cables, to run their ships on shore, and to set them on fire; the flames however, were soon extinguished in all of them, except one, which being towed from among the rest, blew up, close by the south point of Holties Bay.

The sailors, assisted by the soldiers, succeeded in getting off the prizes, after uncommon exertions for that purpose: they consisted of one vessel, of twenty-four guns, and one thousand tons burden, from Bengal; two of twenty guns, and one thousand one hundred tons, each from China; and one of twenty guns and one thousand tons, from the same country; the vessel that was burnt mounted twenty-four guns, and was of one thousand one hundred tons burden, and was also from China.

The actions of the *Nonsuch*, of sixty-four guns, with the *Actif*, of seventy-four guns; and of the *Flora* and *Crescent* with two Dutch frigates, deserve to be particularly noticed, and shall conclude our account of the naval operations of the year 1781.

The *Nonsuch*, commanded by Sir James Wallace, was the look-out ship of the van squadron of the fleet of Admiral Darby, on his return from Gibraltar, in the month of May. On the 14th of that month, she gave chase to a large vessel, which was suspected to be an enemy. At half past ten o'clock, she got alongside of her, when the enemy fired her broad-side, and then dropped astern. The *Nonsuch* instantly returned the fire, wore, and raked her: the action continued with great vigour, and without interruption, on both sides, for an hour and a half, during part of which time the ships were on board of each other. The enemy, though so much superior to the *Nonsuch*, in the number of her guns, as well as in the weight of metal, was so dreadfully cut up, that she took the opportunity, when the heads of the two ships were different ways, to make sail, with an intent to escape. The *Nonsuch* pursued; but, owing to the damage she had sustained in her rigging, did

not get up with her till five o'clock in the morning of the 15th, when, for the first time, Captain Wallace discovered that his opponent was a ship of the line, in good order for battle, and mounted with seventy-four guns. These circumstances, however, did not intimidate him or his crew, or prevent them from renewing the engagement: the action, thus renewed, continued till half past six, when the *Nonsuch* was so much disabled, that it was absolutely impossible for her to continue the battle; her deck was completely filled with the rigging, the masts, and the wounded men. Captain Wallace, therefore, thought proper to haul the wind, in order to clear his ship; and the enemy took advantage of this, to steer for Brest. In this action, the *Nonsuch* had twenty-six men killed, and sixty-four wounded.

On the 29th of May, the *Flora* and *Crescent* frigates being on a cruise off the coast of Barbary, discovered two Dutch frigates: on the next morning, they edged down towards them. As soon as each ship had arrived close alongside of her antagonist, a furious and desperate engagement commenced. The *Flora*, Captain Peere Williams, fought with the *Castor* frigate, mounting thirty-two guns, with two hundred and thirty men on board; while the *Crescent*, commanded by the Hon. Thomas Pakenham, was opposed to the *Brill*, a frigate of the same force as the *Castor*. After the firing between the two first had continued for two hours and a quarter, the *Castor* struck her colours, having had twenty-two men killed, and forty-one wounded; while the loss of the *Flora* was nine men killed and thirty-two wounded.

The *Crescent* was not so fortunate; a shot from her opponent, carried away her main and mizen-masts: and the whole of them, along with the rigging, falling on board the vessel, it was rendered completely unmanageable. In this situation, Captain Pakenham was compelled to strike his colours. This happened a very short time after the other Dutch frigate had



yielded, and Captain Williams relieved from his opponent, and perceiving the fate of the *Crescent*, placed his frigate in such a position, that the *Brill* could not take advantage of the capture she had made, by boarding the *Crescent*, but judged it prudent to make off, with as much sail as she could set. In this dreadful battle, the *Crescent* had twenty-six men killed and sixty-seven wounded. Before Captain Williams was able to reach the Channel with his disabled vessels, he was chased by two large frigates; and, finding it impossible to do more than save his own vessel, he was compelled to abandon his prize and the *Crescent* to their fate.

A court-martial, according to custom, sat upon Captain Pakenham, by whom he was most honourably acquitted; the court, at the same time, expressing their admiration at his conduct on this occasion, and their approbation of the support which he had received, during the whole of the engagement, from his officers and men.

1782. The sessions of parliament opened on the 27th of November, 1781. In the speech from the throne, there was no appearance of giving up the American war; on the contrary, the same determined and encouraging language, with respect to its final successful issue, was held out, with which parliament had been met at the commencement of every session, since it unfortunately broke out. The opposition, on their part, censured its conduct and continuance, in the strongest terms; and Mr. Fox, in particular, when the usual address was moved, spoke in very strong terms respecting the mismanagement in the naval department. He endeavoured to prove, from the events of the last year, that the British fleet was very inferior, in every respect, to that of the enemy; and that this inferiority was entirely owing to the ignorance or culpable negligence of the first lord of the Admiralty. This charge naturally called up one of the members of that board: he seemed to admit

that the navy was in a crippled state; but this, he contended, was solely owing to the parsimonious economy of Lord Hawke's administration; and could not, with any degree of propriety or justice, be laid to the charge of Lord Sandwich. On the contrary, the noble lord, soon after he came to the head of the Admiralty, had sent out a fleet much superior to that of the enemy on the same station. He added, that if, on every point we were not able to cope by sea with the combined forces of France and Spain, this was not to be deemed extraordinary, nor ought it to be imputed to the board of Admiralty, since it was well known, and he believed universally admitted, that even France alone, whenever she thought proper to direct her attention solely to the improvement and increase of her navy always succeeded in rendering it superior to that of Great Britain. It was not to be expected, that this admission would pass unnoticed or unchallenged by the naval men in the House of Commons; accordingly, it was positively denied by Admiral Keppel, in very pointed and warm language.

From several circumstances, but especially from the state of the division in the House of Commons at the commencement of the session, and the pertinacity with which the opposition pressed their motions on ministers, it was pretty evident that the power of the latter was on the decline. When the navy estimates came before the house, administration proposed to employ one hundred thousand seamen, including, as usual, the marines: the opposition, either to try their strength, or because they knew that the discussion would bring out fresh proofs of the misconduct of their opponents, proposed, by way of amendment, that the number should be one hundred and ten thousand. Ministers, of course, objected to this. They maintained, that the number they had proposed was amply sufficient; that it was indeed ten thousand more than had been voted or employed last

year; in making this statement, they inadvertently informed the house, that, owing to the great losses the navy had sustained, the ships of the line then in commission were six fewer than they had been the preceding year. This information seemed too good an opportunity to be passed by, of grounding a vote of censure on the amendment proposed when the supplies were moved for, which, accordingly, was done; but the ministers triumphed on this occasion by a large majority. A few days afterwards parliament adjourned to the 20th of January.

During the adjournment there was a partial change of administration, but when the divisions took place both in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, it did not appear that they had gained much strength by this change. Earl Sandwich, as first lord of the Admiralty, was still the principal object of attack with the opposition. On the 24th of January Mr. Fox moved, "that it be referred to a committee to enquire into the causes of the want of success of his Majesty's naval forces during this war, particularly in 1781." A long and violent debate ensued, which was continued, by adjournment, till the 7th of February: on that day Mr. Fox concluded a long and eloquent speech by moving the following resolution: "That it appears to the committee of this house that there was gross mismanagement in the administration of naval affairs in the year 1781." After a very interesting debate, the house divided on the morning of the 8th at half past two o'clock, when there appeared for Mr. Fox's motion one hundred and eighty-three; against it two hundred and five. When the army extraordinary came before the house another attempt was made to beat the minister on the same question: the division then was two hundred and thirty-six in favour of Lord Sandwich, and two hundred and seventeen against him. By comparing these two divisions it will be apparent that ministers were giving way; as on the first, their ma-

jority was twenty-two, and on the second, only nineteen; neither of them very strong, or indicative of firm and long continued power.

On the 27th of February ministers were left in a minority, on a resolution against the American war; and this resolution being presented by the whole house, to his Majesty, he was graciously pleased to assure them, that he would take such measures as would restore harmony between Great Britain and her revolted colonies. Ministers, notwithstanding, still retained their situations: but on the 20th of March the Earl of Surrey having given notice of a motion for their dismissal, Lord North assured the house, that his Majesty had come to the full determination to change his ministers, and that in fact the ministry was at an end. An adjournment till the 25th of the month was therefore moved and agreed to. The change which took place was complete and radical. The marquis of Rockingham was at the head of the new administration: the principal secretaries of state were Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox; Colonel Barrè was appointed treasurer of the navy; and the board of Admiralty was constituted of the following members:—Admiral Keppel; Vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland; Vice-admiral Hugh Pigot; Lord Duncannon; the Hon. John Townsend; Charles Brett; and Richard Hopkins, Esq.

This administration continued in power till the death of the marquis of Rockingham, which happened on the 1st of July, when another change took place; Lord Shelburne being appointed first lord of the treasury; Mr. Pitt chancellor of the exchequer; Thomas Townsend, Esq. and Lord Grantham secretaries of state; and Henry Dundas, Esq. treasurer of the navy. The Admiralty board was nearly the same as under the marquis of Rockingham's administration; the Hon. John Jefferies Pratt, and John Aubrey, Esq. being appointed in the room of Lord Duncannon and the Hon. John Townsend.

An act of parliament was passed during this session, which was of considerable interest and importance in a naval and commercial point of view: by this act the ransoming of ships or vessels captured from his Majesty's subjects, and of the merchandise and goods on board of these vessels, is strictly prohibited. A penalty of 500*l.* is inflicted upon any person who shall, after the 1st of June 1782, enter upon any contract or agreement, for ransoming any ship or vessel, or any merchandise or goods on board any vessel taken by the enemy, to be recovered with full costs of suit, by any person who shall sue for the same, in any of the courts of record at Westminster. All contracts and agreements entered into, and bills, notes, &c. granted for such purpose are declared void.

The total supplies granted for this year amounted to 24,261,477*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*; of these 8,063,285*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* were for the navy; *viz.* for the maintenance of one hundred thousand men, including twenty-one thousand three hundred and five marines, 4,940,000*l.*; for the ordinary of the navy 409,766*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*; for the building, rebuilding, and repairs of ships 953,315*l.*; for the debt of the navy 1,500,000*l.*; and for ordnance for sea-service 260,000*l.*

The following flag-officers were employed this year: at Portsmouth, Admiral Sir Thomas Pye, and Vice-admiral Evans; at Plymouth, Vice-admiral Lord Shuldham, and Vice-admiral Milbank:—in the Channel fleet, Admiral Lord Howe, in the *Victory*, Vice-admiral Barrington, in the *Britannia*; Rear-admiral Alexander Hood, in the *Queen*; Rear-admiral Sir J. Ross, in the *Ocean*; Rear-admiral Kempenfelt, in the *Royal George*; and Commodores Hotham and Elliott, in the *Edgar* and *Romney*:—in the Downs, Vice-admiral Drake had the command:—at the Nore, Vice-admiral Roddam:—in North America, Rear-admiral Digby:—Off Newfoundland, Vice-admiral Campbell:—in the Leeward Islands, Admiral Rodney, in the *Formidable*; Rear-admiral Hood, in the

Barfleur; Rear-admiral Drake, in the *Princessa*; and Commodore Affleck, in the *Bedford*. In the month of June, Admiral Pigot was sent to the Leeward Islands to supersede Admiral Rodney; he took out with him the *Jupiter*, as his flag-ship; and in the month of November Rear-admiral Sir R. Hughes was sent out to the same station in the *Princess Amelia*:—on the Jamaica station, the flag-officers were Vice-admiral Sir Peter Parker, in the *Sandwich*; Rear-admiral Rowley, in the *Ramillies*; and Rear-admiral Graves, in the *London*:—in the East Indies, Vice-admiral Sir E. Hughes, in the *Superb*; and Commodores King and Bickerton, in the *Exeter* and *Gibraltar*.

The naval actions, and the events connected with the naval history of Great Britain, which occurred during the year 1782, may very properly be ranged under the heads of Europe, including the Mediterranean, and the West and East Indies. Of those belonging to Europe, the most prominent, interesting, and important, are those connected with the siege of Gibraltar: in the West Indies, the glorious victory obtained by Sir George Rodney, on the 12th of April, both on account of the novel manner in which it was gained, and of the decisive consequences which resulted from it, deserves and demands most particular and minute notice. In the East Indies, several very severe, well-fought, but indecisive actions between the fleet under Sir Edward Hughes and the French fleet under Monsieur De Suffrein, claim our attention.

Before, however, we proceed to those events which are connected with the siege and relief of Gibraltar, we have to record a most melancholy and fatal accident which happened at Spithead on the 29th of August. The *Royal George* of a hundred guns, bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Kempenfelt, was lying there, repairing some damage which had occurred to her copper sheathing: in order to do this in the most prompt

and expeditious manner, it was judged proper and practicable, as the weather was fine, to heel her so much that the damaged part might be seen and repaired. While she was lying in this situation, a sudden and violent squall threw her so much over, that, the lower-deck guns being run out, the water rushed in with very great rapidity at the port-holes; and before it was possible for the crew, who were at their dinners, and totally unaware of the possibility of such an accident, to make any efforts to right her, and thus save the ship, she filled and sunk. A small vessel which lay near her was carried down at the same time, by the violence and rapidity of the eddy, which the sinking of the Royal George caused. Every effort was made by the boats of the fleet, to save the crew; but they were able to pick up only Captain Waghorn, two lieutenants, and about three hundred people; Rear-admiral Kempenfelt, several of his officers, and four hundred persons perished. As the vessel was lying at Spithead, it happened that on the one hand, several of the seamen and some of the officers were on shore; while, on the other hand, a great many women and children were on board. Captain Waghorn was tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted.

Admiral Kempenfelt, though nearly seventy years of age, was peculiarly and universally lamented. He was held, both abroad and at home, to be, in point of professional knowledge and judgment, one of the first naval officers in the world; particularly in the art of manœuvring a fleet, he was considered by our greatest commanders as unrivalled, and his excellent qualities as a man at least equalled his professional merits as an officer. His father was a Swedish gentleman, who coming early into the English service, generously followed the ruined fortunes of his master James II. Being recalled by Queen Anne, after the death of that unfortunate monarch, and serving with distinction in her wars, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and was, at the

time of his death lieutenant-governor of the Island of Jersey. That gentleman's private character was so admirable, as to be depicted and immortalized by Addison in the *Spectator*, where it has ever been admired under the well-known appellation of "Captain Sentry."

It has already been noticed, that, as soon as Spain united with France in the war against Great Britain, she seemed most particularly anxious to regain possession of Gibraltar. Minorca, also, as being an island so close to the coast of Spain, and having always, till its capture by Great Britain, formed part of that monarchy, was another though an inferior object of her plans and attack. The siege of Fort St. Philip in this island was carried on with great vigour, and a force of sixteen thousand regular troops, with one hundred and nine pieces of heavy battering cannon, and thirty-six large mortars, under the command of the Duke De Crillon, was employed for that purpose; to oppose this immense force, General Murray, who commanded the fort, had a very feeble and inadequate garrison. He, however, made a determined and long resistance, and did not surrender till the number of his men were reduced by a dreadful and inveterate scurvy to not more than six hundred and sixty (out of two thousand six hundred and ninety-two) fit for duty, and even of these, five hundred and sixty were actually tainted with this disorder. The joy of the king of Spain at the conquest of Minorca was excessive: he determined now to direct his whole efforts to the reduction of Gibraltar, before which he had long kept a numerous army; all the attempts of which, however, had been completely baffled by the intrepidity of General Elliot, who commanded that fortress. The Duke De Crillon was appointed captain-general of the Spanish armies; and the conqueror of Minorca was looked forward to, and depended upon for the recovery of Gibraltar. Forty-thousand land forces, including



twelve thousand French troops, forty-seven sail of the line, besides floating batteries, frigates, and other vessels of war formed the force employed for this great enterprise.

Many plans were proposed for bringing this immense force to act with the greatest effect against the fortress. One of these was, that the whole fleet should be brought to the direct attack of the place, on all sides by sea, while the land forces carried on a furious assault; and it was reckoned that by this plan, the fortress might be captured with the loss perhaps of ten or twenty ships of war, and a proportional number of troops. There can be little doubt that the Spanish monarch, in his extreme eagerness to obtain possession of Gibraltar, would not have hesitated to have made this enormous sacrifice, provided there was a reasonable chance of success; but to all who knew the strength of the fortress, both naturally and by art, and the skill and bravery of its defenders, the scheme was regarded as wild and impracticable. Another, therefore, was proposed, which, though it was avowedly and openly the plan of the Chevalier D'Arcon, a French engineer of great and deserved reputation, is said to have been, in reality, modified and arranged, if not formed, by the Spanish monarch himself. According to this plan, floating batteries were to be constructed on such a principle, that it should be impossible for any effort or means of the besieged either to sink or set fire to them. In order to render it impossible to sink them, their keels and bottoms were to be fortified with an extraordinary thickness of timber: to secure them against fire, the sides of the floating batteries were to be lined with timber and cork, a long time soaked in water, with a large quantity of wet sand between: it was supposed that by this means no cannon shot would penetrate; or if it did, that the wet sand would not only impede its progress, but prevent it from setting fire to the vessels. But the most ex-

traordinary part of their construction remains to be noticed. "In imitation of the circulation of the blood in the living body, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the solid workmanship, in such a manner, that a continual succession of water was to be conveyed to every part of the vessel: a number of pumps being adapted to the purpose of an unlimited supply. By this means it was expected that the red-hot shot would operate to the remedy of its own mischief, as the very action of cutting through those pipes would procure its immediate extinction. So that these terrible machines, teeming with every source of outward destruction, seemed to be themselves invulnerable, and entirely secure from all danger."

In order to construct these singular and terrible machines, ten great ships, from six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burden, were cut down to the state required by the plan of the engineer; and two hundred thousand cubic feet of timber were employed in their construction. There was still, however, some things to be guarded against: they were not yet bomb-proof; in order to render them so, and at the same time to protect the men at the batteries from grape-shot, a hanging roof was erected, and contrived in such a manner, that it could be raised or let down with the greatest facility, at the pleasure of those on board the vessels: this roof was formed of a strong netting, covered and protected by wet hides of great strength and thickness: such a slope was given it, as it was supposed would effectually serve to throw off the shells that might fall on it, before they could burst or do any mischief. On board these batteries were placed brass cannon of a large calibre, and in each ship a supply was kept in case of accident. The ingenuity and skill of the Chevalier D'Arcon was not yet exhausted: as the effect of these batteries must depend, in a great measure, on the rapidity and constancy with which they

fired off the cannon that were placed on them, he had contrived a kind of match, "to be placed on the lights of the guns, of such a nature, as to emulate lightning in the quickness of its consumption, and the rapidity of its action; and by which all the guns of the battery were to go off together, as it had been by a single shot."

The Spanish commander, however, did not trust entirely to these means formidable as they were: no less than twelve hundred pieces of heavy ordnance were collected for the siege, and the quantity of gun-powder only was said to exceed eighty-three thousand barrels. As not the smallest doubt was entertained that the fate of Gibraltar was sealed, two princes of the royal blood of France, the Count D'Artois, the French king's brother, and the Duke De Bourbon his cousin arrived at the camp about the middle of August, in order to witness the triumph of the united arms of France and Spain. Scarcely a single person, except the Duke De Crillon himself, thought it possible that the fortress could hold out twenty-four hours after the attack began; and he was thought extremely and unnecessarily cautious and distrustful, when he gave it as his opinion, that it might require fourteen days.

General Elliot, in the mean time, was not idle, or unprepared: he knew very well the measures that were about to be employed against him, and the force that was to support and carry into execution those measures. So far from appearing daunted, he determined to provoke his opponents to the attack; this he resolved upon, in consequence of observing that their works on the land side were nearly completed, and of the hope he entertained that he should be able to interrupt, if not to destroy them. About seven o'clock in the morning of the 8th of September therefore, he commenced a powerful and well-directed fire, by which, about ten o'clock, the Mahon battery and another adjoining it were set in flames, and

by five in the evening they were entirely consumed. By this measure of General Elliot's, the enemy were exceedingly mortified and provoked; and resolving, if possible, to wipe off the stain, they hastened their preparations for the grand, and as they hoped the final and decisive attack. On the morning of the 9th, by break of day, a new battery of sixty-four heavy cannon was opened, which poured without intermission its shot into the garrison. The enemy during this and several succeeding days, fired at the rate of six thousand five hundred cannon-shot and one thousand and eighty shells in every twenty-four hours; while their ships made continual attacks on Europa Point, the defence of which was solely entrusted to Captain Curtis and the marine brigade under his command. In order that the attention of the garrison might be completely distracted, by the various and multitudinous forms of attack, going on at the same time, the gun and mortar-boats were added to the other instruments of war, and continued their assaults, both by day and night, without the smallest intermission, on the works of the fortress.

At this time the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to forty-eight sail of the line, arrived at Algeiras from Cadiz; and every thing was also complete in the battering ships. These were covered with one hundred and fifty four pieces of heavy cannon; and to the service of each gun, thirty-six artillery-men were appointed; besides these, there were a sufficient number of officers to direct the operations, and of scamen to work and manage the vessels, so that the whole number on board of these battering ships could not be less than six or seven thousand men. The plan was, that the fire of these vessels should be steadily directed to one object, while the gun and mortar-boats, with the floating-battery and the bomb-ketches should carry on their attack in every possible direction. It was calculated that every part of the fortress would at one and the

same time be exposed to a most dreadful and destructive fire; and as it would be impossible for the garrison to be every where present and upon the alert, it was hoped that some point would be so far injured as to present a favourable place for assault, if the governor still determined to hold out.

About eight o'clock in the morning on the 13th of September, the ten battering ships of the enemy weighed anchor and stood over towards Gibraltar, where they occupied the stations allotted for them, about nine hundred yards from the works. The ship on board of which the Spanish admiral was, was stationed near the King's Bastion, while the other vessels extended, three to the southward of the flag, as far as the Church Battery; five to the northward, near the Old Mole; and one a little to the westward of the admiral. As soon as they had reached their stations, they began a heavy cannonade, in which they were seconded and supported by the cannon and mortars in the lines, while the batteries from the garrison opened with hot and cold shot from the guns, and with shells from the howitzers and mortars.

It is absolutely impossible to conceive, much less to describe, the horrid grandeur of this scene: the imagination, even though it were of the most fertile and vigorous kind, could not form a picture, in any respect, equal to what this day witnessed. Although General Elliot made no pompous display of the measures he had adopted to defend himself, yet on trial they were found to be completely adequate, not only for the purposes of defence, but of destruction; and even his enemies admitted that skill and bravery such as his they had never before encountered or witnessed. "The prodigious showers of red-hot balls, of bombs, and of carcasses, which filled the air, and were without intermission thrown to every point of the various attacks, both by sea and by land from the garrison, astonished the commanders

of the allied forces, who could not conceive the possibility that General Elliot, streightened, as he was, within the narrow limits of a garrison, should have been, by any means, able to construct, or to manage such a multitude of furnaces, as they deemed necessary to the heating of the infinite quantity of shot then thrown. The number of red-hot balls, which the battering ships only received in the course of the day, was estimated, in their own accounts, at not less than four thousand. Nor were the mortar-batteries in the fortress worse supported; and while the battering ships appeared to be the principal objects of vengeance, as they were of apprehension to the garrison, the whole extent of the peninsula seemed at the same time to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire which were incessantly poured upon it."

For a long time it seemed as if the battering ships were completely invulnerable to all the attempts made by the garrison to destroy them; while they continued through the greatest part of the day to maintain a heavy and destructive cannonade, they resisted the combined powers of fire and artillery to such a degree, that the incessant showers of shells, and the red-hot shot, with which they were assailed, made no visible impression upon them. About two o'clock, however, there were evident symptoms of their approaching destruction: smoke was seen to rise from the upper part of the admiral's deck; and that this proceeded from some serious and alarming cause was evident from the men being observed using fire-engines, and pouring water into the holes that were made by the red-hot shot. This circumstance served to stimulate the efforts of the garrison; it was now beyond a doubt, that though these battering ships were constructed with so much art and ingenuity, and though they were capable, at the same time, of inflicting and of suffering so much, yet there were in the garrison means amply sufficient to silence

and destroy them. In the course of the night it could not be accurately ascertained whether the fire on board of them encreased; that it was not got under, was evident from the continued efforts of the men to work the fire-engines, and to pour water down the shot-holes; the fire from the garrison was therefore continued without intermission throughout the whole of the night; and by one o'clock in the morning the admiral's ship and another were more visibly on fire. Every thing on board them indicated the utmost confusion and alarm; rockets were thrown up, to announce their distress and danger to the other ships, and the fleet immediately sent out all the assistance in their power; but to afford assistance, under the circumstances in which the battering ships were placed, was neither very safe nor very easy. It was impossible to remove the battering ships, or to save them where they were: the grand, and indeed the only object, therefore, was to take out the men; but the very means which had been employed to render these ships formidable to the garrison, made it extremely dangerous to approach them; they were filled, and made up as it were, with combustible matter, which, now that they were on fire, was continually exploding; while the fire from the garrison, directed with more vigour against these ships, as they were seen to be on flames, added greatly to the risque of those, who attempted to save their unfortunate comrades.

While these operations were going on, Brigadier Curtis with his squadron of gun-boats lay under the New Mole, ready to take advantage of any favourable opportunity which might present itself: this opportunity was now at hand; accordingly, about three o'clock, when the enemy had suffered most dreadfully, and were thrown into the utmost confusion by their battering ships having taken fire, he began his attack upon their flank, in a most masterly style and with great effect. His gun-boats were drawn up in such a manner, as

to rake the entire line of the battering ships, and thus to repel all attempts which the Spaniards were making to relieve and succour those who were in them: no hope or chance of safety now remained for these unfortunate men, unless in the humanity of their conquerors: and this humanity was in a great measure successfully exercised, notwithstanding to save them was still attended with great and imminent danger. It was not, however, till the morning of the 14th that the whole compass and extent of the defeat of the Spaniards was discovered; or that the efforts of Brigadier Curtis in the cause of humanity could be successfully exerted: when day-light appeared, the scene was most dreadful. In the midst of the flames great numbers of the enemy were discovered crying out for assistance; while others were seen floating on pieces of timber, liable every moment either to be washed off, or to be destroyed by the shot from the garrison. As soon as the effects of the fire from Gibraltar were clearly seen, and it was put beyond a doubt that the enemy were completely conquered, the firing ceased entirely: every thought, which but a few minutes before had been directed to the destruction of the Spaniards was now turned to their relief and succour. In a moment it was forgotten that they were enemies, and only remembered by the British that they were suffering fellow-creatures. In a moment, those vessels which had been employed to deal destruction among them, were used for the purpose of saving them; and it would be impossible to determine, whether the British displayed more intrepidity in their endeavours to save, or to destroy. In this sacred and honorable employment, Brigadier Curtis and his marine brigade were almost exclusively engaged. It is impossible to describe the exertions they made, the dangers to which they exposed themselves, or the skill which they displayed on this occasion. One instance may, however, be given: they succeeded in dragging out from the holds of the



burning ships, an officer and seventy-nine men, most dreadfully scorched. It may indeed be said that none but Britons could have defended Gibraltar, as it was defended; and none but Britons could have saved their enemies in such a dreadful situation.

At one time, the most dreadful apprehension was entertained that Brigadier Curtis had fallen a sacrifice to his noble and generous humanity: the boat in which he was employed in saving the unfortunate Spaniards, lay close to one of the largest of the battering ships, at the very moment that she exploded; for a short period, every thing was involved in the utmost darkness: this was a time of dreadful suspense. General Elliot and all the garrison kept their eyes fixed on the spot, and soon had the happiness to perceive the commodore's pinnace safe, when the smoke was dispelled: the escape, however, was almost miraculous; a large piece of timber struck the boat and made a hole in her bottom, and she was only preserved from instantly sinking, by the seamen stuffing their jackets into the hole. Nearly four hundred of the enemy were saved from instant and inevitable destruction by means of Commodore Curtis and his brigade of marines; while their loss in the battering vessels alone was estimated at one thousand five hundred.

It is impossible to ascertain the whole loss of the Spaniards on this memorable day: that it was very enormous is certain, both from the nature and effect of the fire from the garrison, and from the very circumstances, that they published only a vague and contradictory account respecting it. How the whole scene impressed one, probably not very callous, as having been accustomed to the carnage of war, may be inferred from the following passage in a letter from a French officer, dated the evening of the 8th, which was published in the foreign gazettes: if the occurrences and disasters of that day called forth such feelings and such language, certainly those of

the 13th must have produced a similar effect: "The eye is fatigued, and the heart rent with the sight and the groans of the dying and wounded, whom the soldiers are this moment carrying away; the number makes one shudder; and I am told, that in other parts of the lines, which are not within view of my post, the numbers are still greater. Fortunately for my feelings, I have not, at this instant, leisure to reflect much on the state and condition of mankind."

Such admirable measures had been taken by the governor for the protection and security of the garrison, while they were employed in defending the fortress and in annoying the enemy, that their loss was comparatively light, and it was chiefly confined to the artillery corps: the marine brigade, of course, being much more exposed, suffered more severely; yet not nearly to such a degree, as might have been anticipated. In the course of about nine weeks, the whole number slain amounted only to sixty-five; and the wounded to three hundred and eighty-eight. How little chance the Spaniards had of succeeding in their attack, even if their battering ships had not taken fire, may be judged from this circumstance, that the works of the fortress were scarcely damaged, and afforded indubitable proofs of the skill and ingenuity with which they had been constructed.

As the enemy now had most melancholy proof that Gibraltar could not be taken by any means that human power could bring against it, the only chance that remained to them of reducing it was, by famine: for this purpose, it was necessary to prevent supplies being brought to it, as they knew it was nearly destitute. Lord Howe, however, was approaching with a powerful fleet, and a numerous convoy laden with every kind of stores and provisions: to oppose him, the enemy trusted to their combined fleet. It seems at first to have been the plan and intention of the

enemy to cruise off Cape St. Mary, in order to meet the British fleet; but this measure was abandoned, and they took their station in the Bay of Gibraltar. On the 10th of October, while lying in the bay, a dreadful gale of wind came on, which threw them into great disorder, exposed them all to imminent danger, and actually caused the loss of the St. Michael of seventy-four guns, which being driven under the works of Gibraltar, was taken possession of, and her crew, consisting of six hundred and fifty men, made prisoners. On the 11th, signals were made on board the enemy's fleet, which proved to the garrison that the British fleet were in sight; in the afternoon of that day, the Latona frigate arrived in the bay; and in the evening she was followed by the whole fleet: it is easy to conceive what must have been the anxiety of the garrison, till the convoy, which was to bring them succours so greatly needed, should get beyond the reach of the enemy; and this anxiety was greatly increased, when they discovered, that though the wind and weather were by no means unfavourable, yet by the carelessness and inattention of the masters of the transports, only four out of thirty-one reached their destined anchorage, the rest being driven past the bay into the Mediterranean. This provoking and unfortunate accident obliged Lord Howe to enter the Mediterranean also, for the purpose of collecting and bringing back the convoy. The enemy took advantage of this to attempt to recover two of their line of battle ships, which in the storm of the 10th, had been driven from Algesiras out of the Straits: they also entertained hopes, that while employed in bringing back these vessels, they might either capture some of the store-ships, or at least prevent them from entering the bay. Their force, however, was considerably lessened; they were obliged to leave behind three of their ships, which were disabled; the St. Michael had been taken, and two others were absent.

Lord Howe was soon apprized of the movements and the apparent intention of the combined fleet by the *Latona* frigate, and he immediately made the signal for his ships to collect around him. At sunset on the 13th, forty-two ships of the line, and other vessels, amounting in the whole to sixty-four sail, were seen six leagues to windward of him on the larboard tack. At first they seemed disposed to bear down on the British, but afterwards they hauled their wind and stood off. Lord Howe, in the mean time, had formed his plan of action, he arranged his fleet in three lines, sending off his convoy where they might safely wait the issue of the battle, on the coast of Barbary, under the protection and guidance of the *Buffalo* man of war. His fleet consisted only of thirty-two sail of the line, whereas that of the enemy had been strengthened by the junction of the two ships that had been driven from Algeiras.

As the enemy did not seem disposed to fight, the *Buffalo*, with the transports, rejoined Lord Howe, and was dispatched towards the bay; on the 18th he succeeded in landing two regiments, and in sending in a supply of fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder from the fleet. While performing these operations, the combined fleet not only offered no impediment, but they did not even come in sight. On the 19th, however, while the British fleet were in the mouth of the Straits, between Europa Point and Ceuta, they were seen in the north east quarter. As a battle in the Gut, appeared in every point of view by no means prudent, Lord Howe repassed the Straits into the Atlantic, the enemy following him at a few leagues distance. As soon as the British admiral got clear of the Straits, he formed in order of battle to the leeward, but the combined fleet, though the time of action, as well as the distance, lay entirely in their power, contented themselves, towards the evening, with a cannonade on the van and rear of the British, which produced little or no effect. Lord Howe's

own ship, the *Victory*, not returning a single shot, and the others only firing occasionally.

During the manœuvres on this occasion, three ships of the rear of the British fleet, the *Union*, *Buffalo*, and *Vengeance*, being considerably astern of the rest, *Don Louis de Cordova*, in the *Santissima Trinita* of one hundred and twenty guns, and a French admiral, supported by three large ships, and seven ships of two decks, bore down upon them, with the intention and expectation of cutting them off. These vessels not daunted by the approach of such a superior force, reserved their fire, till the enemy came within musket shot, when they commenced it in such a masterly and efficient manner, that their opponents were quickly thrown into great disorder and confusion. The ship of the Spanish Admiral, unwieldy and unmanageable from her great size, was thrown completely aback, and obliged to haul her wind, and withdraw from the action. As night came on, they seemed disposed to renew the attack, but were again so well received, that after a distant cannonade, which lasted about an hour, they sheered off.

Different opinions were formed respecting the conduct of Lord Howe on this occasion: all parties gave him credit for having accomplished the great and paramount object of his voyage—the relief of Gibraltar, with great skill and seamanship; but many contended, that when he had done this service, he ought to have shewn more earnestness, and used more strenuous and zealous endeavours to come up and engage the combined fleets: while others maintained, that no good object could have been accomplished by an engagement with them, while in case of a disastrous issue, much evil might have resulted. The following observations on this disputed point seem deserving of attention and respect.

“ The distant fire of the enemy’s fleet on the 20th, as usual; and, as all that was intended by it, excepting merely to save appearances, did a good deal of

## NAVAL HISTORY

damage to the yards and rigging of several of the English ships, so that if Lord Howe had even been disposed to pursue the enemy on the following morning, he could not have so done; but that undoubtedly neither was, nor ought to have been any part of his object. The measure of mere fighting, without any adequate object in view, can never be adopted by any wise commander, either by sea or by land. The great service of relieving Gibraltar, was, in the face of all Europe, most happily and gloriously performed, under such circumstances of inferiority of force, as not only fully to support, but highly to exalt our naval renown, and the honour of the British flag. It was evident through the whole course of the proceedings, that the combined enemy, with so great a superiority as they possessed, had not, at any time, the smallest intention of hazarding a general action, however willing they might be to risk some loss in order to maintain that appearance, and however watchful they were to profit of any advantage that might be afforded. The British commander besides had other important services still to provide for; he detached eight ships of the line to the West Indies, and six to the coasts of Ireland, on his way home; neither of which, or at least the former, could probably have been done, if a forced action (and which from its nature could not be decisive) had taken place."

We have already mentioned that the Dutch island of St. Eustatius did not long remain in our possession; the settlements of Demerary and Essequibo soon afterwards shared the same fate; and the Marquis De Bouilli, by whom they were retaken, next directed his attention and his forces to the British island of St. Christopher's. It was at first supposed that he intended to have attempted the reduction of the island of Barbadoes, and under that impression, Sir Samuel Hood, with twenty-two ships of the line, had taken his station in Carlisle Bay, in order to oppose his

landing. As soon, however, as he heard that the enemy had altered their plan, and had actually proceeded against St. Christopher's, he sailed from Carlisle Bay for Antigua, determined, if possible, notwithstanding the superiority of the French fleet, to attempt the relief or the defence of that island. At Antigua he took General Prescott, and the few troops that could be spared, on board, and thence proceeded in the evening to Basseterre Road, where the enemy were at anchor. The Count De Grasse was surprised and astonished at the apparent rashness of the British commander in thus forming a line of battle, and giving as it were the challenge to a fleet so much more powerful: he immediately weighed anchor, and put to sea, in order that he might have sufficient room, as he thought he had a fine opportunity, to destroy the British squadron. He was, however, most completely deceived in his expectations, and out-mannœuvred by the superior skill and activity of Sir Samuel Hood; for this admiral, carrying on every demonstration, as if he meant to fight the French, contrived to draw them gradually to such a distance from their anchorage ground, and at the same time to work his own fleet in such a manner, that he actually took possession of it himself. The French admiral, as may be supposed, was extremely mortified, at having been so deceived, and endeavoured to wreak his displeasure, and to atone for his disgrace, as well as to recover his advantageous position, first by an attack on the rear of Sir Samuel Hood's squadron, as they were going into the bay, and afterwards, the next day, by a regular attack from van to rear with his whole force. He was not able, however, to make the smallest impression; he was, on the contrary, twice repulsed with great loss. It was said, that the French killed and wounded, amounted to one thousand men: the whole loss in the English squadron amounted to seventy-two killed, and two hundred and forty-four wounded. As soon as the Bri-

tish admiral had secured his anchorage in Basseterre Road, he sent General Prescott and his troops on shore, but they were unable to reach the garrison, and consequently were soon afterwards reembarked. The siege was pressed with uncommon vigour by the Marquis De Bouilli; and Sir Samuel Hood had the mortification to perceive signals of distress from the garrison, without being able to afford them any possible relief or succour. On the 13th of February, Governor Shirley, who commanded the island, was obliged to capitulate, having obtained most favourable and honourable terms, on account of the gallantry of his defence, from the French general. It was no longer necessary, nor indeed advisable, for Sir Samuel Hood to remain with his squadron in Basseterre Road, as the enemy were erecting batteries on the shore, which, when completed, would have commanded, and must have destroyed his ships: he therefore determined to leave the bay, but as the French fleet were still at hand, and had been reinforced by two ships of the line, the attempt was arduous and difficult; it was, however, absolutely necessary to make it without delay. Accordingly, on the night after the capitulation, the British fleet slipped their cables, and fortunately got to sea without the slightest obstruction, or even attempt at pursuit. As soon as the Marquis De Bouilli had reduced the Island of St. Christopher's, he directed his forces against Nevis and Montserrat, which he speedily reduced, so that of all our former numerous possessions in this quarter of the world, only Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua, now remained.

Almost ever since the commencement of the war between Great Britain and France, the latter power had formed designs against Jamaica; by some good fortune on our side, these designs had been laid aside, at times when that island, from inadequate means of defence, would have been an easy conquest. But now it appeared as if they were to be put into immediate



execution ; and the force collected in the West Indies for that purpose seemed to secure a prosperous result. In the Islands of Hispaniola and Cuba, the Spaniards had a large land force, which were to unite with the French troops under the Marquis De Boulli, while they had also assembled in the same island, several ships to reinforce the fleet of the Count De Grasse. The naval force, when united, would form a most powerful fleet of sixty ships of the line ; and their army was infinitely superior to the troops in Jamaica, even if they could have been reinforced by all the men that could have been spared from the other islands.

On the 19th of February, Admiral Rodney arrived at Barbadoes with twelve sail of the line ; and soon afterwards formed a junction with the fleet under Sir Samuel Hood. By this means the British squadron was put more nearly on an equality with that of the enemy, while the latter were disappointed in the number of ships that they expected to have collected ; for several ships of the line, with a numerous convoy sent from Europe, to assist in the reduction of our West India Islands, under M. De Guichen, was on its passage so severely handled by Admiral Kempenfelt, that only two men of war, and a very small number of the convoy were able to proceed on their voyage, and join the Count De Grasse.

The fleet under Admirals Rodney and Hood was farther strengthened by the arrival of three more ships of the line from England ; and on this occasion, they resolved to act on the offensive : their first object was to intercept and capture, if possible, a second convoy, which was coming from Brest. In order that there might be little chance of this convoy escaping him, and reaching their destination, Admiral Rodney formed his fleet in a line to windward of the French islands, stretching from the latitude of Deseada to that of St. Vincent, while his frigates spread still further in the courses which ships

usually kept in coming from Europe to the West Indies; but the French convoy, aware of their danger, had the address to escape it, and arrived safe in Fort Royal Bay, where the Count De Grasse was employed repairing his ships and preparing them for sea.

A great stake was now to be played: if the Count De Grasse could manage to reach the Spanish Islands, without fighting, he would there gain such an accession of force, as would enable him to chase the English fleet before him, and secure the conquest of Jamaica, or indeed any other object he might have in view. On the other hand, it was no less the interest and the aim of Admiral Rodney to intercept and fight the French fleet, before their junction with that of Spain; if he did not prevent the junction, the fate of the British Islands was sealed; on this circumstance, therefore, the whole fortune and hope of the war hung.

After Admiral Rodney had been disappointed in the execution of his well laid plan for intercepting the second French convoy, he returned with his fleet to Gros Islet Bay in St. Lucia: his force amounted, in the whole, to thirty-six ships of the line: the force under the Count De Grasse, at Martinique, only to thirty-four, besides, however, two ships of the line armed *en flute*, and two fifty-fours. With respect to men, the French, according to their usual custom at that time, rather overmanned their ships of war; and besides their full complement of seamen, there were nearly six thousand land forces on board. In point of weight of metal, it may be observed, that in ships of the same rate and same number of guns, the French always carry heavier metal than the English are accustomed to do; on the other hand, many of the French ships were in a bad condition, both for sailing and fighting. The English had five ninety gun ships, and none larger; the French had the *Ville de Paris*, mounting one hundred and ten guns, with thirteen hundred men, including soldiers on board, and eight

of eighty and eighty-four guns each; their seventy-fours had nine hundred men a piece. So that upon the whole, if an exact estimate were made of the force on both sides, opposing superior weight of metal in larger ships, and a much greater number of men, in the one, to the advantages and better condition, two ships more in number, and a somewhat greater number of guns, on the other, the comparative balance would probably be found tolerably even, and it would appear that contending fleets do not often happen to meet, upon more equal terms. Sir Samuel Hood had the command of the van of the English; Sir George Rodney, of the centre, and Admiral Francis Drake of the rear. The three divisions of the French fleet were commanded by the Count De Grasse, M. De Vaudreuil, and M. De Bougainville: the English commanders were not more distinguished for bravery and skill, among their own nation, than the French were among theirs.

By break of day on the 8th of April, the French fleet began to leave Fort Royal Bay in Martinique, having along with them a numerous convoy of ships: they stood to leeward, in order to reach the French or Spanish ports in St. Domingo. There is great diversity of opinion respecting the prudence and judgment of the Count De Grasse's conduct on this occasion: he has been blamed for putting to sea; or, if that were necessary, for encumbering himself with such a numerous convoy. But if the attack on Jamaica were to be hazarded at all, it was absolutely necessary that the French and Spanish fleets should unite; and consequently that M. De Grasse, as being the strongest, should endeavour to reach Hispaniola. In war, if no danger is encountered, if no risk is run, no advantage can reasonably be expected. If the Count De Grasse had remained in Fort Royal, till the English fleet departed, or ceased to watch his motions, he probably must have remained there for a very considerable length of time, as the fleet of his

opponents were in excellent condition; equally sheltered with his own; and not at all likely to quit their station at St. Lucia, while he remained at Fort Royal. The time, therefore, which he chose for sailing, and not the act itself, must be the object of censure: but if he were to sail, he seemed to have chosen as favourable an opportunity as he could have expected: he had no ground for reckoning upon the slackened vigilance of the British. With respect to the convoy, he must either have left them at Fort Royal, or, as he actually did, take them along with him; in the former case, they would be unprotected; in the latter, they were undoubtedly an incumbrance, and prevented him from getting on so speedily as he could have wished; but he had only his choice of evils; and he certainly chose the least.

Admiral Rodney had stationed some frigates for the purpose of informing him by signal, the moment the French fleet got under weigh: his own fleet was in such excellent order, and in such a complete state of preparation, that by noon the whole were clear of Gross Islet Bay, and in close pursuit of the enemy: before sun-set they came within sight of them under the island of Dominique. The Count De Grasse soon perceived that a battle was inevitable, or at least so likely, as to require every necessary preparation for it: he therefore sent off his convoy, and formed his fleet in line of battle. Admiral Rodney also, at five in the afternoon, had formed his fleet in line of battle, at two cables length distance asunder, in order that the pursuit might be carried on, and the line of battle preserved at the same time. The wind at first favoured the design of the French to get away and avoid a battle; for while the English were becalmed under the high lands of Dominique, the enemy had nearly reached Guadaloupe. The breezes unsteady and partial in those seas, at length favoured the van of the English fleet, while the centre and rear were still nearly motionless; the former, therefore, taking

advantage of the wind, neared the French centre, and began to close with it. The honour of the French nation, and the well-earned reputation of the admiral seemed to demand that, under these circumstances, he should no longer decline the battle, though it is pretty certain that it was still in his power: besides these powerful motives, another equally powerful existed: the van of the English fleet, favoured by the breeze, while the rear and centre were becalmed, had gained a considerable distance a-head, and seemed, as it were, cut off from support and assistance. The French admiral hoped that the wind would still further favour him, and enable him to destroy, or at least greatly to injure the English van before the rest of the ships came up. When, therefore, the van closed with his centre, he did not decline the battle; it commenced about nine o'clock in the morning of the 9th of April. In a very few minutes, the whole van of the English fleet were closely and warmly engaged with nearly all the French ships. Sir Samuel Hood in the *Barfleur*, at one time, had seven firing upon him, and the force which attacked the others, was nearly equally disproportionate.

Notwithstanding this immense superiority, the British van fought with the utmost steadiness, resolution and bravery: their great object was to continue the battle, and thus retard the progress of the French fleet, till the British centre and rear came up: this fortunately happened in no long time; the breeze rather freshened; the leading ships in the centre caught it first; and these were soon followed by Sir George Rodney in the *Formidable*, with his two seconds, the *Namur* and *Duke* of ninety guns each: encouraged and supported by these, Sir Samuel Hood's division poured into the enemy a still more tremendous and destructive fire. The first French ship which the three vessels of Admiral Rodney's division came up with was a seventy-four; the French captain, nothing daunted at this fearful odds, lay to, and steadily re-

ceived and bravely returned their fire in succession, without in the least altering the position of his ship, or edging down to receive the support of his comrades.

The Count De Grasse now perceived that the enterprise he had in view, when he first determined to accept battle, *viz.* that of cutting off or damaging the English van, before the rear and centre could come up, was so far from being likely to succeed, that it probably would terminate in the defeat of the great object of his expedition, if not in the ruin of his fleet: he therefore resolved, if possible, to change the nature of the action, in order to prevent its becoming decisive: this he found no great difficulty in effecting, as he had the command of the wind, and his whole fleet were sailing in close and compact order. He still, however, resolved to do all the damage he could to the British fleet, even while he was drawing off from a general and decisive battle, he therefore continued firing on the van, and that part of the centre, which had come up. This he continued to do, with but little effect, till noon, when the remaining ships of the centre having joined, and the rear approaching very fast, he was convinced that no time was to be lost, in drawing off entirely, and making all sail a-head. All the efforts of Admiral Rodney to continue the engagement were ineffectual, though he did every thing in his power, both to tempt and to compel his adversary to it. In this heavy cannonade, the French Admiral suffered much more considerably than the English; and if we look to the object each had in view, Admiral Rodney was much nearer the accomplishment of his, than the Count De Grasse was: the latter hoped that he should be able to disable the English squadron so effectually, as to compel his adversary to give up the pursuit, while he imagined and expected that this could be done, without materially injuring his own vessels, or impeding their progress. In this, however, he was mistaken, or rather

the issue was the reverse; for though he inflicted partial damage on some of our vessels, yet, in so doing, his own suffered much more. Two of his ships were so much injured, that they were obliged to sail for Guadaloupe, thus reducing his force to thirty-two ships of the line. Two of our vessels also were severely damaged, but by the unwearied efforts of their captains and crew, they were repaired at sea, without being obliged to quit the fleet.

On the night of the 9th of April, and the whole of the following day, the British fleet lay to: this was necessary both for the purpose of repairing the damaged ships, and in order to form the line anew: as the rear in the late engagement had not suffered, Admiral Rodney ordered it to compose the van, as being in the best condition to pursue and begin the action, if they should again come up with the French fleet. As soon as the repairs were completed, and these arrangements carried into effect, the British squadron again made sail, and kept turning to windward in order to work up the narrow channel, that lies between Dominique and Guadaloupe: the enemy were a little a-head, also working up this channel. From this statement of the relative position of the two fleets, it is apparent that the renewing of the action entirely rested with the French.

While the two fleets were both working to windward, the relative distance between them was nearly preserved, but as soon as the French had proceeded to the termination of the Channel, and were enabled to turn the point of the island of Guadaloupe, they had a fair wind, and soon gained considerably on the English squadron; this happened on the 11th, on that day they were so far a-head, that they could scarcely be seen by the British centre, and were totally invisible to the rear. At this period, the expectation of being able to come up with them again was very faint; and it is said, that at one time it was proposed to give over the chase, and endeavour to reach the

place of their destination before them, by running down to leeward. This design, if entertained, was, however, soon abandoned, since it was very uncertain whether the British fleet, even by running down to leeward, could reach Hispaniola before them; or if they did, they might be compelled to fight them there under great disadvantage.

The chace therefore was persevered in, and the hopes of its success were chiefly rested on the changeableness of the wind in those latitudes: another circumstance, however, which was not taken into the calculation, enabled the British to accomplish their grand object, of coming up with, and engaging the enemy. It was observed that two of their vessels, which either were bad sailors, or had suffered in the last action, fell off from the body of the fleet. These the British admiral hoped, either to capture, or what would be much more desirable, to render the means of overtaking and engaging the whole fleet; for this purpose, he threw out the signal for close and vigorous chace. The quickest sailing of the ships of our van gained fast on the two ships: they had already nearly come up with them when the Count De Grasse, observing the jeopardy they were in, bore down with his whole fleet, either to bring them off, or to defend them.

Thus the opportunity so ardently wished for, but so little expected by the British admiral, was within his power; it no longer lay in the option of the Count De Grasse to decline or to commence an engagement. He could not avoid it, even if he had thought proper to sacrifice the two ships, to whose assistance he had borne down: by this measure he had brought his whole fleet so near that of the English, that though he still had the advantage of the wind, it was absolutely impossible for him to get away, without, at least, a partial action. It was the object and the plan of the British admiral to make the engagement general; for this purpose, he crowded all



sail to near the enemy as much as possible before the evening set in ; and when he had placed his fleet in such a situation with respect to the enemy, as to render it impossible for him to avoid fighting or to escape, he formed a close line, and during the course of the night manœuvred in such a manner, as enabled him to near the French fleet still more.

The battle commenced about seven o'clock on the morning of the 12th of April : it was fought in a large basin of water, lying among the islands of Guadeloupe, Dominique, the Saints, and Marigalante : both on the windward and leeward of this basin, lay very dangerous shores. As soon as day broke, Admiral Rodney threw out the signal for close action ; and every vessel in his fleet obeyed it most scrupulously and literally. The British line, instead of being, as usual, at two cables length distance between every ship, was formed at the distance of only one. As each came up, she ranged close along side her opponent, passing along the enemy for that purpose, giving and receiving, while thus taking her station, a most dreadful and tremendous fire. The action continued in this manner till noon ; when Admiral Rodney resolved to carry into execution a manœuvre, which, if successful, he expected, would gain him a complete and decisive victory ; for this purpose in his own ship, the Formidable, supported by the Namur, the Duke and Canada, he bore down with all sail set on the enemy's line, within three ships of the centre, and succeeded in breaking completely through it. As soon as he had accomplished this, the other ships of his division followed him ; and they all wore round, doubled upon the enemy, and thus placed between two fires those vessels, which by the first part of the manœuvre they had cut off from the rest of the fleet. As soon as Admiral Rodney and the vessels which followed him wore, he made the signal for the van to tack, by which means they gained the windward of the French, and completed the disorder and confu-

sion, into which the breaking of their line had thrown them.

The enemy, however, still continued to fight with great courage and firmness; and made an attempt to reform their broken line, by their van bearing away to leeward: this, however, they could not accomplish: during the whole of this time, Sir Samuel Hood's division had been becalmed, and of course unable to take any part in the action; but at this critical moment a breeze sprung up, which brought forward most of his ships, and thus "served to render the victory more decisive on the one side, and the ruin greater on the other."

One consequence of the breaking of the French line was, that opportunities were given for desperate actions between single ships; the most splendid and striking of which were the following, told in language, which it would be wrong to alter, because it would be scarcely possible to improve.

"The Canada of seventy-four guns, Captain Cornwallis took the French Hector of the same force, single hand. Captain Inglefield in the Centaur of seventy-four guns, came up from the rear to the attack of the Cæsar of seventy-four also. Both ships were yet fresh and unhurt, and a most gallant action took place, but though the French captain had evidently much the worse of the combat, he still disdained to yield. Three other ships came up successively, and he bore to be torn almost to pieces by their fire. His courage was inflexible: he is said to have nailed his colours to the mast; and his death could only put an end to the contest. When she struck, her mast went overboard, and she had not a foot of canvas without a shot hole. The Glorieux likewise fought nobly, and did not strike till her masts, bowsprit, and ensign were shot away. The English Ardent of sixty-four guns, which had been taken by the enemy in the beginning of the war, near Plymouth, was now retaken, either by the Belliqueux,

or the Bedford. The Diadem, a French seventy-four gun ship, went down by a single broad side, which some accounts attribute to the Formidable: it has also been said, that she was lost in a generous exertion to save her admiral."

" M. De Grasse (we continue to make use of the words of the same writer) was nobly supported, even after the line was broken, and till the disorder and confusion became irremediable towards evening, by the ships that were near him. His two seconds, the Languedoc and Couronne, were particularly distinguished, and the former narrowly escaped being taken, in her last efforts to extricate the admiral. The Ville de Paris, after being already much battered, was closely laid alongside by the Canada: and in a desperate action of near two hours, was reduced almost to a wreck. Captain Cornwallis was so intent in his design upon the French admiral, that, without taking possession of the Hector, he left her to be picked up by a frigate, while he pushed on to the Ville de Paris. It seemed as if M. De Grasse was determined to sink, rather than strike to any thing under a flag: but he likewise undoubtedly considered the fatal effects which the striking of his flag might produce on the rest of his fleet. Other ships came up in the heat of the action with the Canada, but he still held out. At length Sir Samuel Hood came up in the Barfleur, just almost at sun-set, and poured in a most tremendous and destructive fire, which is said to have killed sixty men outright: but M. De Grasse wishing to signalize as much as possible, the loss of so fine and so favourite a ship, endured the repetitions of this fire for about a quarter of an hour longer. He then struck his flag to the Barfleur, and surrendered himself to Sir Samuel Hood. It was said, that at the time the Ville de Paris struck, there were but three men left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, and that the Count De Grasse was one of the three."

Long before the French admiral struck his flag, his fleet had sought their safety in flight; and that they might divide the attention of the English, and thus more easily accomplish their object, they went off before the wind in small squadrons and single ships. They were at first closely pursued, but on the approach of night, Admiral Rodney made the signal for his vessels to collect for the purpose of securing his prizes, and removing the men from on board of them.

While our fleet were obliged to lie under Guadeloupe for three days, to repair their damages, the French seized the favourable opportunity to escape. As, however, many of their ships were very much crippled, Admiral Rodney entertained hopes that he should be still able to overtake and capture some of them. On the 17th, therefore, he detached Sir Samuel Hood with those vessels of his division, which had suffered the least; and on the 19th, five sail of the enemy were perceived endeavouring to effect their escape through the Mona passage. The signal for chase was immediately given, and before the French could enter the passage they were becalmed and overtaken. The Valiant, Captain Goodall was the first who came up with them; he laid his ship alongside the Caton, of sixty-four guns, which struck at the first broadside; Captain Goodall, however, did not stop to take possession of her, but pushing on, he came up with and attacked the Jason, a vessel of the same force as the former: she held out about twenty minutes, and then struck. A frigate of thirty-two guns, and a sloop of sixteen were also taken.

The whole loss of the enemy amounted to eight ships: one had been sunk; one, the Cæsar, blew up after she was taken; by this accident a lieutenant, and fifty English seamen perished with about four hundred prisoners: and six ships remained in the possession of the conquerors. On board the Ville de Paris, were found thirty-six chests of money, with which the troops that were intended for the invasion

were to have been paid ; and the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon that were to have been employed on the same enterprise, were captured in the prizes.

It was esteemed remarkably fortunate and glorious for the conquerors, that the *Ville de Paris* was the only first rate man of war, that ever was taken and carried into port by any commander of any nation. This ship had been a present to Louis XVth from the city of Paris ; and was said to have cost 176,000*l.* sterling in her building and equipment.

The loss of the French in killed and wounded, was very great ; the amount of the former is supposed to have been three thousand : and of the latter at least double that number. The *Ville de Paris* was fought so long and so gallantly, that on board of her alone four hundred perished.

On board of the British fleet, the loss was also great, but not nearly in the same proportion, nor so great as might have been anticipated, when the length and the obstinacy of the contest are taken into consideration. Including the loss of both actions, on the 9th and 12th, the number of the killed amounted to two hundred and thirty-seven, and of wounded to seven hundred and sixty-six. Several officers of great repute for skill and bravery were among both. Captain Blair of the *Anson*, who had distinguished himself the preceding year, in the action off the Dogger Bank with the Dutch, was slain ; and Lord Robert Manners, son of the great marquis of Granby, was so dangerously wounded, that he died on his passage to England.

The British nation were so sensible of the bravery displayed both by the officers and men in this action, and of the importance of it as the only means of preserving the remainder of our West India Islands, that their joy, when the intelligence arrived, was excessive ; it came also very seasonably in other points of view. On land, and even at sea, except

where Admiral Rodney was engaged, we had not been able to meet the enemy, on any occasion, with great and decisive advantage; and in too many instances, we had retired from the contest, not in the most honourable manner. As the means also of procuring more favourable terms of peace, this victory was hailed with joy and exultation; and as Admiral Rodney was looked up to as the great cause of it, the gratitude of the nation towards him was deeply felt, and expressed in warm and glowing language. It was recollected that the fortune of Sir George Rodney had been peculiarly singular, as well as highly glorious in the war. Within a little more than two years, he had given a severe blow to each of our three powerful and dangerous enemies, the French, Spaniards, and Dutch. He had taken an admiral of each nation: a circumstance perhaps unequalled. He had in that time, added twelve line of battle ships, all taken from the enemy, to the British navy; and destroyed five more!

Nor were his Majesty and the houses of parliament less sensible of the bravery of the officers and men who had achieved this glorious and decisive victory; Sir George Rodney was created a peer of Great Britain; Sir Samuel Hood, a peer of Ireland; and Rear-admiral Drake, and Commodore Affleck were made baronets of Great Britain; the thanks of both houses of parliament were unanimously voted to these, and the other officers, and the seamen and marines of the fleet; and on the 23d of May, a vote of parliament was passed, by which a monument was ordered to be erected to the memory of Captains Mayne, Blair, and Lord Robert Manners, who had so bravely fallen in the defence of their king and country.

As soon as Sir Samuel Hood returned from the enterprise on which he had been sent, and which he had so fortunately accomplished, and had regained the fleet off Cape Tiberoon, Sir George Rodney proceeded to Jamaica with the prizes and the ships of the

British fleet that were most disabled, leaving Sir Samuel Hood to watch the motions of the enemy. About the beginning of August, Admiral Pigot, having arrived at Jamaica to take the command on the West India station, Admiral Rodney returned to England.

Before, however, he gave up the command, he sent directions to Admiral Graves to proceed to England with the prizes, and such of the British squadron as stood most in need of repair. Accordingly he sailed from Jamaica about the end of July; the ships under his command were by no means fit for the voyage they were about to undertake: they had indeed undergone a partial repair in the dock yards of Jamaica, but such as was not nearly sufficient for our ships, which had suffered comparatively little in the engagement, and of course the repairs could be but of little service to the French prizes. Besides they were very incompletely manned. The ships which Admiral Graves took under his command for England were, the *Ramillies*, *Canada*, and *Centaur*, of seventy-four guns each; and the *Pallas*, a thirty-six gun frigate, all English; the French prizes were the *Ville de Paris*, *Glorieux*, *Hector*, *Ardent*, *Jason*, and *Caton*. On the 17th of September, a most dreadful hurricane came on, which proved fatal to most of this squadron. Of nine ships of the line, only the *Canada* and *Jason*, the latter of which did not leave Jamaica till after the rest, reached England: the *Ardent* was compelled to put back; and the *Caton* to bear away for Halifax: the *Ville de Paris*, *Ramillies*, *Centaur*, *Glorieux*, and *Hector*, perished, and the *Pallas* frigate was run ashore at Fyal. It is computed that not fewer than three thousand five hundred men perished on this occasion; the sufferings of many that were saved were most dreadful, particularly of Captain Inglefield of the *Centaur*, and ten of his men, who for sixteen days were exposed to fatigue and famine in the midst of the Atlantic, in a small leaky

boat, without compass, quadrant or sail, and without provisions sufficient, with the utmost care and abstinence, for a very few days consumption; and what was still more dreadful, with only two quart bottles of water.

Thus not a single trophy, nor even vestige remained, except the Ardent, of that victory, which had been won with so much glory and honour.

We have already hinted, that the action on the 12th of April was fought, and the victory gained, on an entirely new system of naval tactics; this system, as the adoption of it formed an entirely new æra in our naval history, and may justly be regarded as the cause of all the glorious and decisive victories by which the fame of British seamen has been raised to such a pitch of glory, and the maritime power of our enemies has been so completely broken to pieces, we shall examine and explain at considerable length; but before we begin this explanation, it will be proper to notice some remarks and observations, which have been brought forward in order to prove, not merely that the breaking of the enemy's line, on the 12th of April, was the effect of accident, and not the accomplishment of a digested and regular plan, founded on a new system of naval tactics, but that this circumstance was by no means so important and decisive of the victory, as is generally supposed.

Dr. Beatson, in the fifth volume of his *Naval and Military Memoirs*, offers the following observations on the various circumstances of this long continued and most important battle.

“The most obvious of these circumstances is, the great change of the wind, which happened during the heat of the action. This alteration of wind, was as singular as it was extraordinary. Owing to its not affecting the whole ships of the two fleets, and to the breeze continuing from the eastward to the northernmost ships, and changing to the southward upon the southernmost end of the lines, it obliged one part of



the French fleet to alter its course, while the other part, by continuing its course was completely disordered. Indeed, the wind, by changing forward upon the French ships, necessarily broke the line of battle ahead, which could not be continued when they were forced from their course by its coming more from the southward, while they sailed in that direction.

“The case of the British fleet, in this change of the wind, was essentially different. Being upon the contrary tack to that of the French, the same wind which came ahead upon the French fleet, came more from the sterns of the British ships; and they were not, therefore, by this change disabled from continuing the line of battle ahead, in the most direct and close manner. This advantageous position, however, was not maintained. Admiral Rodney, in his own ship, by changing his course with the change of wind, was separated from his second ahead, and from his whole van; and connected only with six ships, kept to the windward of the French van. He was divided also from his own rear by Admiral De Grasse and five line of battle ships, which continued connected with him. Whether this change of the course of Admiral Rodney’s ship, happened from inadvertence in the heat of battle, or from design, does not clearly appear. It took place about ten o’clock, when the two fleets were still engaged, particularly in the centre, and was probably unknown to the admiral himself.

“The whole success of the battle on the 12th of April, has been some times attributed to this measure, which has, of course, been deemed a masterly evolution, worthy of imitation; the British admiral has also been supposed to break through a connected line of the enemys’ ships. These representations, however, appear to proceed from mistakes; for the French line was completely deranged by the change of wind alone; and so far was the measure of sailing through the enemy’s line with six ships, unconnected

with the rest of the fleet, from being decisive of victory, that it may be doubted whether it was a fortunate evolution. If Admiral Rodney's fleet had kept a connected line of battle ahead, sailing large, across the bows of the French ships, which were necessarily forced towards the broadside of the British by the wind, and totally disordered, it is highly probable that the fleet of France must, upon the whole, have sustained much more damage, than it did from the fire of the six ships attached to Admiral Rodney, which had an opportunity of attacking three or four of the French collected in a confused manner, and forced to leeward of the British admiral. And this is the only real advantage which has been supposed to arise from Admiral Rodney's weathering the French rear with six ships. Whilst the ships of both fleets were in the disorder which has been mentioned, as, owing to the change of wind, they were so little under the direction of the commanders-in-chief, that many of the captains, must have been guided entirely by their own judgment, in the courses which they were to steer, and in the measures which they were to pursue."

In reply to the whole of these observations, so far as they tend to represent the breaking of the line as the effect of accident, it is sufficient to observe, that it is well known that Admiral Rodney, before he left England to resume his command of the fleet on the West India station, had expressed his determination to put this manœuvre into execution, on the first opportunity that presented itself. There is some difference of opinion, upon a circumstance of subordinate importance, *viz.* whether the perusal of Mr. Clerk's celebrated work on Naval Tactics, first suggested the idea to Admiral Rodney, or whether the admiral had previously to his having read that work, entertained the same idea himself: but all authorities agree on this point, that the admiral had determined, long before the 12th of April, to manœuvre so the first time

he met the fleet of the enemy, as if possible to break their line. It is even supposed by many, that, prior to the year 1780, he had come to this determination, and matured in his own mind, the system of breaking the line; for in his official dispatches, describing the battle off Martinico, on the 17th April, 1780, there is the following remarkable passage, "At forty-five minutes after six in the morning I gave notice, by public signal, that my intention was, to attack the enemy's rear, with my white force;" some circumstance, or consideration, however, not explained or noticed, induced the admiral to alter his intention on this occasion.

Nor is there only proof that long before the 12th of April, 1782, Admiral Rodney had determined to act on a new system of naval tactics, and that the principle of this system was, to break through the enemy's line, but there is also evidence, that after that battle, he always represented his evolutions to have been directed to that object: and ascribed the victory to their successful execution. It is added, that "he had the magnanimity afterwards to acknowledge in every company, that the victory gained over the French fleet, on the 12th of April, 1782, was fought upon Clerk's system."

In the second place, little doubt can be entertained, that the victory on that day was the consequence of the breaking of the enemy's line, if the circumstances of the engagement preceding and immediately following that evolution are attentively considered; before it took place the French were at least on an equality with us, and the issue of the contest was both distant and doubtful; almost as soon as the French line was broken, the victory was in our power; and even the enemy then fought rather for honour, than with the hope of retrieving the fortune of the day. Besides, if the breaking of the line is an evolution of problematical advantage, how happens it that it has been followed by our naval commanders

in every action, since the 12th of April, 1782, and that on every occasion it has immediately decided the victory in our favour. That the change of wind on the 12th April, may have assisted in the performance or success of this evolution, is very possible, but there is no reason to believe that the breaking of the line was entirely occasioned by the change of wind; and still less ground for believing that this manœuvre was of doubtful advantage.

With regard to the difference of opinion which is entertained respecting Mr. Clerk's claim to the merit of this grand discovery, it is foreign to our plan, and our purpose, to discuss it here; we shall merely refer such of our readers as wish to see the facts and arguments urged on both sides, to Cumberland's Memoirs, and the Edinburgh Review of that book; and to several letters which appeared in the second volume of the monthly publication called the Athenæum.

It is of much more importance, and more within our plan, to give such an abstract of Mr. Clerk's work, as will lay before our readers, the defects of the old system of naval tactics; the principles on which the new system is grounded, and the advantages that this system, when strictly and judiciously acted upon must necessarily produce.

Mr. Clerk, who was a gentleman of independent fortune, of Eldin, in North Britain, was first led to the consideration of naval tactics, in consequence of the investigation which took place respecting Admiral Keppel's engagement in 1778. On this battle he drew up some strictures, containing his general ideas on the subject of naval tactics: these, he afterwards enlarged, and published in the beginning of the year 1782. His essay, in the same form, was republished in 1790; and the second, third, and fourth parts were added in 1797. The whole was republished entire, with a preface explaining the origin of his discoveries, in naval tactics, in the year 1804.

In the first part of his work, Mr. Clerk gives a se-

ries of demonstrations on the mode of attack from windward: a fleet, in this position invariably bears down in a perpendicular, at least in a slanting, line to leeward, each ship abreast of the other, till they are brought up for a close engagement from van to rear. It is evident, therefore, that the fleet to leeward, which was the object of attack, being formed in a line of battle ahead of each other, and desirous to avoid an engagement, had leisure and opportunity to disable their opponents as they were coming up: this they might repeat, always drawing off as the windward fleet approached near them, forming their line again, and again repeating the same manœuvre with the same success. "If then," observes Mr. Clerk, in the concluding part of his demonstrations on this subject, "after a proper examination of the late sea engagements or rencounters, it shall be found that our enemy, the French, have never once shewn a willingness to risk the making of the attack, but invariably made choice of, and earnestly courted a leeward position: if invariably when extended in line of battle, in that position, they have disabled the British fleets in coming down to the attack: if invariably upon seeing the British fleet disabled, they have made sail and demolished the van in passing: if, invariably, upon feeling the effect of British fire, they have withdrawn, at pleasure, either a part or the whole of their fleet, and have formed a new line of battle to leeward: if the French have repeatedly done this upon every occasion: and, on the other hand, if it shall be found that the British, from an irresistible desire of making the attack, as constantly and uniformly have courted the windward position: if, uniformly and repeatedly, they have had their ships so disabled and separated, by making the attack, that they have not been once able to bring them close with, to follow up, or even to detain one ship of the enemy for a moment: shall we not have reason to believe that the French have adopted and put in execution, some system which the

British either have not discovered, or have not yet profited by the discovery.”

Mr. Clerk then proceeds to give the details of the principal naval engagements from that of Admiral Byng, in the Mediterranean, in 1756, to Admiral Greaves off the Chesapeake, on the 5th of September, 1781. In Byng's engagement, our fleet having gained the wind of the French, bore down in a slanting line, to bring them to battle from van to rear: during this manœuvre the sixth ship in our line, by the loss of her top-mast, threw the whole into disorder, and separated the van from the centre and the rear. As soon as our ships came near enough to fire with effect on the enemy, their van bore away, while their centre and rear poured their whole broadsides with impunity into the five headmost ships of our fleet as they ranged along our van. They then formed a new line to leeward, while our van, disabled by their fire, was unable to renew the attack; but there can be no doubt, if the attack had been renewed by our fleet in the same manner, they would have suffered equally, while the French, after having again fired into them as they were coming up, and endeavouring to take their stations, would have dropped further to leeward. In Admiral Byron's engagement off Grenada, on the 6th of July, 1779, our fleet followed nearly the same mode of attack, and the French received and defeated our attack in the same manner, which they had adopted and pursued in 1756: the principal difference was, that the enemy did not wait till our ships came close up, but edged away to leeward, before we could either bring their rear into action, or produce a close engagement in the van. Our headmost ships were either disabled in making the attack, or completely prevented from coming up with the enemy. The latter, on this occasion, fought so cautiously on this system, that they did not even venture to pick up such of our disabled ships as had fallen to leeward. The consequence of this system thus pur-

sued by the French, was, in the action with Admiral Byng, the loss of Fort St. Philip in Minorca; and in the action with Admiral Byron, the capture of the island of Grenada.

How very determined the French were to avoid being to windward at the commencement of an engagement, the position which our admirals always preferred and sought to obtain, is apparent from the circumstances attending the battle of Admiral Arbuthnot off the Chesapeake; at first, the French had the weather gage, but afraid of beginning the fight in that situation, they bore down and formed to leeward of the British line. When they had gained this their favourite position, they waited till our van came near them, gave them their broadsides, then wore and formed again to leeward; while our ships, being disabled by a fire which they could not return on equal terms, were unable to follow them.

Mr. Clerk then proves, that the French, when, in opposition to their usual practice, they had kept to windward, were careful never to make the attack themselves; this, indeed, is abundantly evident, from their manœuvre to gain the leeward in the engagement off the Chesapeake. In the two engagements also which they had with Admiral Rodney, on the 15th and 19th of May, 1780, to the windward of Martinique; in Sir Samuel Hood's engagement on the 17th of April 1781, off the same island; and in Admiral Keppel's in 1778, off Ushant, the two adverse fleets passed each other on opposite tacks; the French being as desirous to get to leeward, as the British were to obtain the weather-gage: the former even passed the fire of the British to obtain this position.

Mr. Clerk, having pointed out the great error of our old system of naval tactics, which, when fleet was opposed to fleet, rendered the superior bravery and skill of our seamen of little or no avail: and by taking advantage of which, the French were not only enabled to decline a general and decisive engagement,

whenever their object or their interest prompted them to avoid it, but even to cripple and damage our ships; proceeds to give a detail of the new system, which, besides other advantages, possesses this peculiar merit, that it cannot avail our enemies even when divulged. All that a British seaman requires is, to be placed alongside of his foe; when this is done, his innate spirit, and habitual skill will ensure him the victory: till, therefore, his opponents equal him in these two points, they cannot expect, while Mr. Clerk's system is acted upon, to come off unconquered. Mr. Clerk proposes two modes of attack, from windward and from leeward: both are founded upon one plain and simple principle; a principle which has indeed been long known and acted upon in land engagements, *viz.* that of directing and exerting the principal part of the force against the weakest and most vulnerable part of the opposite line. The old system endeavoured to carry the whole fleet by a general attack; this, in most cases, might undoubtedly have been done, provided each ship of the British had been safely, and without damage, laid alongside of her opponent; but while each ship was bearing down, and manœuvring for that purpose, it has been seen that she was exposed to the fire of several of her opponents, who, at the same time, always had it in their power to draw off whenever they had inflicted all the damage they could with impunity. Mr. Clerk, therefore, proposed that, instead of bearing directly down, a fleet to windward should pursue in the same manner as a single ship would, in nearly a parallel line of approach; and combine their attack to as many ships in the centre or rear of the enemy, as they could conveniently and safely cut off. If this plan is pursued with judgment and skill it cannot fail to succeed in a greater or less degree; for, though the fleet of the enemy should on the whole be superior in point of sailing, yet there must always be some of their rear not equal in this respect to some of the opposite van; and if the latter



can reach the former, they must either be cut off, by this proposed system of attack, or be protected by the whole fleet bearing down; in which case the fleet to windward has the opportunity of cutting off a still greater number. In fact, while the whole fleet are tacking or wearing for the purpose of supporting those ships of the rear, which are in danger of being cut off by the van of their opponents, the distance between the van and the centre must be increased: and thus the system of cutting off some of their vessels will be rendered more easy of execution.

The second part of Mr. Clerk's book is occupied in explaining the mode of attack from leeward. He takes it for granted that, when two fleets are working to windward, it must happen that some of the vessels in the fleet most to windward will meet with some disaster or other; so as to retard their progress and make them fall down to leeward; in this case, they will be exposed to the attacks of the hostile fleet, so that in all probability they will either be captured, or if the other vessels of their squadron bear down to their support, then the distance between the two fleets is necessarily diminished. As accidents are unavoidable in a numerous fleet, especially where endeavours are strenuously making to outsail their opponents, Mr. Clerk concludes, that a fleet to leeward must fetch some part of the opposite line. "Were they to meet on the same tack, the engagement might continue while they held the same course; but the fleet to windward, when desirous to avoid an engagement, has invariably passed the other on the opposite tack." Mr. Clerk demonstrates by a variety of examples, "that, whether the attack be directed against the centre or the rear of the enemy's fleet, whether it be made by the van or centre of the fleet to leeward, the portion of the line which is then intersected and cut off from the rest, must be forced to leeward, and taken or destroyed. When the attack is made by the centre, the headmost ships bear away

as usual, and engage to leeward: those of the centre pierce the opposite line, and stretching to windward, place the enemy between two fires: the rear remains interposed, to obstruct the course of the enemy's rear, or the return of their van. When the line is thus intersected and broken, the van and rear present two distinct objects of attack; but as these objects are not both to be accomplished, the attack of the rear, which is already far advanced, and where the success is certain, is far preferable to that of the van, which requires a long pursuit."

Such is a brief outline of the new system of naval tactics, as explained by Mr. Clerk, and as acted upon with so much advantage and glory to the British navy in almost every engagement since the year 1782. In describing the several engagements which have taken place, subsequent to that date, we shall have an opportunity and occasion of pointing out in what particular mode they were conducted upon this system. Of its great merit, this circumstance alone is a sufficient proof, that no naval battle, since the year 1782, has ever proved indecisive: no commander has hesitated to act upon it, whenever circumstances would permit him. During three successive wars, before the time of Rodney, all our naval engagements were indecisive, except whereas in the defeat of Conflans, the English possessed a great superiority in numbers.

We must now turn our attention to the East Indies: as soon as intelligence reached this quarter of the world, of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, Sir Edward Hughes and the commander of the land forces, determined to attempt the conquest of the Dutch settlements. Negapatnam was the first that fell into their hands; as soon as they had completed this conquest, Admiral Hughes sailed with troops on board against the Dutch settlement of Trincomalè, in the island of Ceylon; this was taken by assault on the 11th of January. The English fleet

then, being in want of stores and provisions, returned to Madras road. On the 15th of February, M. De Suffrein appeared in the offing with twelve sail of the line. The English admiral had only nine two decked ships, one of which carried but fifty guns; he, however, prepared for an engagement, by placing his ships in the most advantageous position, with springs on their cables, so that they, and the numerous shipping which lay further in the road might be defended with the greatest prospect of a successful issue to the contest: M. De Suffrein, however, did not think proper to attack them in this position, but stood out of the bay to the southward; he was immediately pursued by Sir Edward Hughes, with the hope of being able to cut off some of the numerous transports which were under the protection of the enemy's fleet: he succeeded in capturing several of them, and the French admiral, apprehensive that more would be taken, bore down with all the sail he could carry. No action, however, took place on the 16th but on the subsequent day, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, M. De Suffrein was enabled, by a favourable squall of wind, to bring his whole force against the centre and rear of the British, which were nearly becalmed, and at some distance from their van: thus five ships of our squadron were exposed to the attack of the whole French fleet: this unequal contest was maintained with great spirit and vigour, till about six o'clock, when a favourable breeze reached the other part of the British fleet, and enabled them to come up to the assistance of the centre and the rear. The enemy, now that the battle was put upon a more equal footing, did not long continue it; but having suffered very severely he hauled his wind and stood off to the north east. M. De Suffrein in this engagement, had directed his principal attack against two of the British fleet, the *Superb* and the *Exeter*: the latter at one time stood singly the fire of five ships. At the close of the action, when she had been most dread-

fully cut up, two fresh vessels of the enemy's squadron bore down upon her: the master asked Commodore King what he should do with her, under these circumstances, his reply was, "there is nothing to be done, but to fight her till she sinks." Captain Reynolds of this ship, was killed in the engagement; as was also Captain Stephens, of the *Superb*. The whole loss of the British amounted to thirty-two killed and ninety-five wounded.

Sir Edward Hughes having repaired his ships, and being reinforced by the arrival of the *Sultan*, of seventy-four, and the *Magnanime*, of sixty-four guns, from England, proceeded again to sea from Trincomalè: his principal object was, to protect a valuable convoy which was coming from England, and part of which had put into Morebat Bay some time before. M. De Suffrein was apprized of the approach and the importance of this convoy, and he determined to use his utmost endeavours to intercept it, before its union with the English fleet. On the 8th of April, the hostile fleets came in sight of each other; and they continued in sight at nearly the same distance asunder, and in the same relative position for three days, when Sir Edward Hughes being within fifteen leagues of Trincomalè, stood directly for that port. By changing his course, in order to reach the place of his destination, he unavoidably gave the enemy an opportunity of gaining the wind of him: of this, M. De Suffrein immediately took advantage; and, on the morning of the 12th, they were in close pursuit of the British squadron. It was absolutely necessary now to prepare for battle; for the French ships being much cleaner in their hulls, and better found in their rigging, were gaining very fast on the rear. The British fleet were placed under most disadvantageous circumstances, in every point of view, for battle: close in pursuit of them was a very superior enemy, coming on with a favourable wind; on every other side of them was a rocky and dangerous coast. They had,

however, no choice but to fight; and to fight in that manner, which the French admiral might think would be most advantageous to himself. Although every thing was so very favourable to the enemy, yet he still seemed very undetermined, either whether he should engage or not, or at least respecting the manner in which he would make the attack; for he continued making alterations in his line and in the position of his fleet, for nearly three hours.

His plan, when determined upon, was rather of a novel nature, and seemed to threaten, if carried into full and successful execution, the complete destruction of the British squadron. He divided his own fleet into two parts: one division consisting of five sail, bore down on the van of the British; the other division, consisting of seven ships of the line, himself leading, directed their attack on the *Superb*, which was in the centre of the British line; and upon the *Monmouth*, which was a-head; and the *Monarch*, which was a-stern of her. The *Superb*, however, was the principal object, against which the French admiral's ship, and his second, both seventy-four's, poured a most dreadful cannonade, within pistol-shot. In ten minutes' time, the English ship had returned the fire, in such a superior style, that M. De Suffrein shot a-head, and permitted some other vessels of his squadron to occupy his position, while he proceeded to the attack of the *Monmouth*: by this manœuvre, the British centre was laid open to several of the enemy's fleet, who bore down, and fired with great impetuosity. At three o'clock, the *Monmouth* was so much damaged, that she was compelled to quit the line. While the battle was thus going on, the British fleet was gradually drawing nearer the shore; Sir Edward Hughes, therefore, being apprehensive that they would either get entangled with it, or drop into shallow water, made the signal for them to wear, still continuing to engage the enemy. His attention was principally directed towards the *Monmouth*;

and being apprehensive, that in her attempts to keep out of the reach of the French, she would drift too near the shore, he made the signal to prepare to anchor. The French fleet, by this time, were in no condition to continue the battle: the Heros, M. De Suffrein's ship, had suffered so much, that he was obliged to shift his flag to the Hannibal. It was now nearly dark: when the French frigate *La Fine*, of forty guns, by some mistake, fell on board the *Isis*, and on perceiving the force of that vessel, struck her flag to her; the darkness of the night, however, preventing the latter from immediately taking possession of her prize, she hoisted her colours again, and made her escape.

Both squadrons having suffered very severely, the English more particularly in their masts and rigging, continued at anchor, within a few miles of each other, for several days: Sir Edward Hughes, at first was apprehensive that the French would renew the attack; but when he observed the confused and disabled state they were in, he was freed from this apprehension. As soon as the *Monmouth* was fitted with jury-masts, so as to be able to keep up with the rest of the fleet, the British admiral weighed anchor, and proceeded to Trincomalè Bay; the French repairing to Batacolà, a Dutch port in the Island of Ceylon, about twenty leagues to the south of the former place.

In considering all the circumstances of this desperate, but indecisive action, the first reflection that occurs is, that if Sir Edward Hughes had supposed that the enemy really meant to have attacked him, he should have waited for their coming up with him, while he had sufficient sea-room, and not suffered himself to be hemmed in on the coast of Ceylon. But it may be, that if M. De Suffrein had found that the English were disposed to fight, at a distance from the shore, he would have declined the engagement; and that he was determined at last to hazard it, only from

the persuasion, that their situation was such, that all the advantages of position, and the chance of success lay with himself. It may also be remarked, that the mode of attack adopted by the French admiral, was admirably adapted to the situation in which the British fleet was placed: by directing his efforts at the same time against the van and the centre, he naturally expected to increase the difficulties in which they were placed; for scarcely having room to draw up in line of battle, if either the van or the centre had been thrown into confusion, it would have been almost impossible to have formed the line again.

Of the English fleet, the *Superb* and *Monmouth* suffered most; the latter had forty-five killed and one hundred and two wounded, which in a ship of her size has scarcely ever happened. Of the French fleet, the *Heros*, the admiral's ship, and the *Orient* and *Brilliant*, were severely damaged: they acknowledged a loss, on the whole, of one hundred and thirty-nine killed, and three hundred and sixty-four wounded.

As soon as Sir Edward Hughes had given his squadron the necessary repairs, he determined again to go in search of the enemy: indeed, it was absolutely necessary that he should watch, and, if possible, impede their motions, since their plan and object were, to assist Hyder Ally in his designs against the British settlements in the East Indies. On the 24th of June, the English admiral anchored in Negapatnam Road; and on the 5th of July, the French fleet, consisting of eighteen sail, came to anchor about eight miles in the offing, evidently with an intention, either to watch or attack Sir Edward Hughes: it became therefore necessary for him to leave the road, in order that he might not be attacked, as he had been in a former engagement, in a situation where he had not sufficient room to manœuvre his vessels, or to take advantage of any superiority he might gain over the enemy. He, therefore, as soon as he found that the

French fleet had anchored off the bay, got under weigh, and stood out to sea: his first object was, what we have seen and remarked to have been the primary object of all our naval commanders, to gain the wind of the enemy. On the 6th, he had obtained this object; and immediately formed his line of battle a-breast: the enemy, in the mean time, having also weighed anchor, and stood away to the west, their line of battle being formed towards that quarter. As soon as the British had ascertained the manner in which the French had formed their line, he changed the position of his squadron, forming a line a-head, and making the signal that each ship of his fleet should bear down as directly as possible upon her opponent, and endeavour to bring her to close action. Some time before the British ships had reached the respective positions which by signal they were directed to take, the enemy had commenced firing; in this respect following their accustomed practice of endeavouring to disable our vessels, as they bore down from windward upon them. The British, however, did not return the fire till they had nearly reached the position they meant to occupy; then they began a heavy and well-directed cannonade. Soon after noon, the action was general from van to rear. The fire of the British was so effectual, that in a very short time, one vessel of the enemy was obliged to draw out of the line, another had lost her main-mast, and all of them were evidently much disabled, both in their hulls and rigging. Every thing seemed now to promise, that this battle would be more decisive than the former ones, and that it would terminate in the defeat of the French; when unfortunately, the wind, which frequently in these latitudes changes at noon, veered round: many of the British ships in the van and the rear were taken aback, and thrown into confusion, being obliged by the change of the wind to draw out of the line: most of our ships, which were thus thrown into confusion from



this cause, had suffered considerably in their rigging, so that they could not be easily and speedily manœuvred in such a manner, as to regain their position: those, however, which had suffered comparatively little damage, and that composed the British rear, soon came to the wind and the larboard tack, and recommenced the action.

As it was of the utmost importance to remedy the confusion into which the British fleet had been thrown by this unexpected change of wind, Sir Edward Hughes hauled down the signal for the line, and made the signal for the ships to wear, with an intention of giving chace to the enemy; who, profiting by the same circumstance which had been so adverse to our squadron, had commenced their flight. But at this time the British admiral perceived, that some of his own ships were so much disabled, that they could neither give chace, nor continue the fight if they could have come up with the enemy: while the *Eagle*, another of his squadron, having by the change of wind been carried very near the enemy, was in danger of being cut off by them: he was, therefore, compelled to abandon his design of giving chace, and at half past five o'clock anchored between Negapatnam and Najore. The French stood in shore, and when they had neared it, collected their squadron in a close body, in such a manner and position, as to be safe from the attack of the British.

Thus the fleets continued all that night; each employed in repairing the damages they had sustained. Sir Edward Hughes soon found that his vessels had suffered so much in their masts and rigging, that the further pursuit of the enemy would be impossible; while the French fleet having, as usual, suffered much more in their hulls than in their masts or rigging, were enabled the next morning, to the mortification of their opponents, to return to Cuddalore Road; the disabled ships forming the van, and those which had

suffered comparatively little, with the frigates, covering their retreat.

During this engagement the *Sèvre*, one of the French squadron, had fallen on board the *Sultan*, at the time when the sudden change of wind took place, and struck her colours as soon as she perceived her situation: the captain of the *Sultan* was prevented from taking possession of her, by his anxiety to obey the signal just then thrown out, of wearing and joining the admiral; the *Sèvre* took advantage of this circumstance, and being separated from the *Sultan*, by the manœuvre of that vessel, in the act of wearing, she hoisted her colours again, or, as some maintain, even without displaying any colours, she poured a broadside into the British ship. In consequence of this strange conduct, Sir Edward Hughes, after the engagement was over, sent a flag of truce to M. De Suffrein, demanding the *Sèvre* as a lawful prize: to this demand, the French admiral sent an evasive answer; denying, however, that the colours had been actually struck, but maintaining that they had been shot away by accident. In this action, which, like the preceding one, was obstinate, well fought, but indecisive; the British had seventy-seven killed and two hundred and thirty-three wounded; the loss of the enemy was one hundred and seventy-eight killed and six hundred and one wounded.

As Sir Edward Hughes was apprehensive that the first object of the French would be the recapture of Trincomalè, soon after he had refitted his fleet, (having been in the mean time joined by the *Sceptre*, of sixty-four guns,) he stood for that place. He arrived there on the night of the 2d of September. When day broke the next morning, he was astonished and mortified to behold the French colours flying on all the forts, and the French fleet lying at anchor in the bay; Captain Macdowal, the commandant of Trincomalè, having surrendered by capitulation on the 30th of August.

M. De Suffrein, though he had succeeded in accomplishing one of the objects he had in view, by the capture of this place, did not decline a battle; but, as soon as he perceived the British fleet in the offing, he weighed anchor, and stood out to sea towards them. Sir Edward Hughes, on his part, was equally ready and desirous of fighting; but, in order that he might engage to more advantage, and if possible render the battle more decisive than the former ones, he endeavoured to draw the enemy after him as far as possible from Trincomalè. M. De Suffrein at first followed with great alacrity, his fleet consisting of fourteen sail of the line, three frigates, and a fire-ship. When, however, he had made a considerable offing, he appeared to waver in his resolution; at one time seeming disposed to come to action, and at another time bringing to, or edging down towards the shore again. At length, about noon, he manœuvred in such a manner, that there could no longer remain any doubt that he had made up his mind to engage: he probably was led to this resolution, by observing that the Worcester, the rear ship of the British squadron, had fallen considerably behind. On her, therefore, two of the French fleet fell with great fury; but she was fought with so much bravery, and manœuvred at the same time with so much skill, that the Monmouth, which was directly a-head of her, had time to bear down to her assistance. While this was going on, five of the enemy's ships, pushing on under a crowd of sail, and in a compact body, fell on the Exeter and Isis, the two headmost ships of the British squadron: for some time these vessels fought against this great superiority of force, till the former, being much disabled, was compelled to draw out of the line: the enemy, upon this, tacked, and fired upon the whole of our van, as they passed them in succession.

But the most desperate engagement was that between the centres of the hostile fleets; especially

between the *Superb* and *Heros*, the ships of the two commanders. The French were again suffering very severely, when they were a second time befriended and saved by a sudden change of the wind: this happened about five o'clock in the afternoon, after two of the French squadron, the admiral's second a-head and second a-stern, had suffered most dreadfully in their masts and rigging. As soon as the wind changed, Sir Edward Hughes had no alternative but to throw out the signal for his ships to wear, while at the same time the enemy performed a similar manœuvre. As soon as the hostile squadrons had taken up their new positions, the engagement recommenced, but with comparatively little vigour on the part of the French; for about seven o'clock they steered away close to the wind, to the southward, receiving a galling fire from the British rear while they passed. It was quite impossible for Sir Edward Hughes to attempt to follow the enemy; the *Superb*, *Burford*, *Eagle*, and *Monmouth*, were completely disabled, and the rest of his fleet had suffered also in a greater or less degree.

The loss of the British was not nearly so great in this engagement as might have been supposed: there were only fifty-one killed and two hundred and eighty-three wounded. On board of the French fleet the killed amounted to four hundred and twelve, and the wounded six hundred and seventy-six: the *Heros*, the admiral's ship, lost one hundred and forty killed and two hundred and forty wounded, out of her crew of one thousand two hundred men. He was so much dissatisfied with the conduct of some of his captains, that six of them were broke, and sent under arrest to the *Mauritius*. The French squadron directed their flight to *Trincomalè Bay*; in entering which, either from the disabled state of the ship, from negligence and want of skill, or from the confusion in which they were, the *Orient*, of seventy-four guns, run on shore, and was lost.

In the month of September, Sir Edward Hughes was joined by Sir Richard Bickerton from England, at Bombay, with five sail of the line and several frigates. In order that we may give a connected view of the naval operations in the East Indies, we shall here trespass a little on the events that happened in the beginning of 1783, in these seas, by detailing the particulars of the fifth and last engagement that took place between Sir Edward Hughes and M. De Suffrein.

In the month of April, 1783, General Stuart, who had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in the command of the army, resolved to attack Cuddalore, where the greatest part of the French forces were posted, under the Marquis De Bussy. Sir Edward Hughes, in order to assist in this expedition, sent five sail of the line, while he with the remainder of the fleet resolved to go in search of M. De Suffrein. He was, however, very unfortunate; for though his men, when he left Madras in the beginning of June, were extremely healthy, yet before the middle of that month, one thousand one hundred and twenty-five were ill of the scurvy, six hundred and five being in the last stage of that disorder; so that he could not reckon upon more than eighty or ninety men fit for duty, even in the healthiest ships. He still, however, persevered in his determination to seek the enemy, and fight him wherever he found him: this indeed was necessary, for the success of the expedition against Cuddalore, for there could be no doubt that M. De Suffrein would attempt its relief.

On the 13th of June, the French fleet were descried to windward, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, three frigates, and a fire-ship: from that day till the 20th, the hostile fleets manœuvred in sight of each other; each seeming rather apprehensive of the contest, or perhaps each desirous, before they began the engagement, to gain some advantage over the other in point of position. The backwardness, on the part

of the French, may be accounted for from the circumstance of their being to windward; and the English, probably because they were to leeward, were likewise slow to commence the engagement. It is plain, however, in this relative position of the two fleets, that the battle lay in the power of the enemy. At length, his determination to engage was no longer doubtful; and the British admiral accordingly made the signal for his ships to form the line of battle a-head, lying-to to receive the enemy, who bore down upon them. Before the van ship of the French got within point blank shot, she began firing, and was soon followed by the rest of the fleet: the enemy, however, still seemed unwilling to come to a very close engagement, and after about three hours fighting, they continuing to windward nearly at the same distance, while the British were unable to work up closer to them, the French hauled their wind, and stood off. Sir Edward Hughes pursued them, and on the 22d he discovered them at anchor in Pondicherry Road, but in such a situation, that it would not have been prudent to have attacked them: he did, however, every thing in his power to entice or provoke them to come out; but when he perceived that they were determined to continue in the road, he proceeded to Madras, being greatly in want of water, and his sick as well as his wounded requiring immediate care and assistance.

In this battle ninety-nine were killed, and four hundred and thirty-one wounded on board of the British fleet: the loss of the French is not accurately and officially known.

Soon afterwards, intelligence arrived in the East Indies, of a general peace, when of course hostilities ceased.

Perhaps there is not an instance in the naval history of any country, of such a series of battles having been fought, with so little advantage on either side: five times Sir Edward Hughes and M. De Suffrein

met and fought; in every battle great bravery was displayed; in the manœuvres before and after each battle there was nearly equal skill; and there was very little disparity in the forces engaged. While the bravery and skill of the British in these engagements are acknowledged, it would be unjust to deny, that the French fought well, and that M. De Suffrein was worthy of being the rival and the opponent of Sir Edward Hughes.

One of the most gallant actions that was fought single handed this year, was that between the *Santa Margaritta*, of thirty-six guns and two hundred and fifty-five men, commanded by Captain Elliott Salter, and the *Amazone*, a French frigate, of thirty-six guns, long twelve and six-pounders, and three hundred and one men, commanded by the Viscount De Montquiote. The English frigate was cruising near Cape Henry, on the 29th of July, when she first descried the enemy. At first, Captain Salter gave chace; but when he had neared her sufficiently to ascertain her nation and force, eight sail of large ships were seen bearing down, two of which were at no great distance: the English captain, with the advice of his officers, judged it prudent to draw off from the chace, hoping to entice the enemy's frigate to follow him, till he had got her out of sight of the fleet. As soon as this happened, Captain Salter tacked and stood after the *Amazone*. About five o'clock, the two ships had approached each other, within a cable's length, on opposite tacks: the French began to fire first: as soon as she had given her broadside, she wore and stood off; the British frigate, in the mean time, did not return the fire, but reserved it till she was sufficiently near, and in a proper position to rake the enemy, when from her starboard guns she poured in her broadside with great effect. During these manœuvres, the two ships had come within pistol-shot of each other: the action continued with great obstinacy and courage on both sides, for an hour and a

quarter, when the French frigate hauled down her colours, her captain having been killed early in the action. As it was absolutely necessary to lose no time in shifting the prisoners, lest the fleet which had been seen before the engagement, should again come up, Captain Salter immediately set about it; but, unfortunately, there was only one boat belonging to the English frigate, which could be employed for this purpose, the others having been rendered useless during the battle: with this alone, therefore, he could make little progress; night came on; the *Amazone* was taken in tow by the *Santa Margaritta*; early the next morning the hostile fleet were perceived in chace; it was now impossible to save both the British frigate and her prize; the latter, therefore, with most of the prisoners, was necessarily abandoned. In this battle, the *Amazone* suffered a loss of seventy men killed, and between seventy and eighty wounded; while on board of the *Santa Margaritta* there were only five men killed and seventeen wounded. This small comparative loss sufficiently proves how much better the English frigate was manœuvred than the French; and that part of the action in which this superiority of manœuvring was displayed, was undoubtedly that where Captain Salter raked the enemy's frigate, while she was in the act of wearing.

Another action deserves to be recorded. The *Mediator*, of forty-four guns, commanded by the Hon. Captain James Luttrell, being on a cruise off Ferrol, fell in with an enemy's squadron, consisting of five sail, *viz.* the *Eugene*, of thirty-six guns, and one hundred and thirty men, with a French pendant flying; the *Menagere*, armed *en flute*, of thirty guns, and two hundred and twelve men; the *Alexander*, of twenty-four guns, and one hundred and two men, with a French pendant and an American ensign flying; the *Dauphin Royal*, of twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and twenty men; and an American



brig, of fourteen guns, and seventy men. As soon as they perceived the Mediator, they formed in line of battle, the Eugene taking the lead, and the Dauphin Royal bringing up the rear.

Opposed to such a force, Captain Luttrell determined to commence the attack, without delay: he knew that the good sailing of the Mediator would bring him off, in case the superiority of the enemy should prove too much for him; but he entertained strong hopes, that by the skill and quickness of his manœuvres, he might be able to cut off and capture part of the squadron. He therefore bore down upon the Menagere, which was stationed near the centre of the enemy's line, and having received a few shot from her, he passed on till he got beyond the Dauphin Royal, when tacking, he poured his fire into her and the other sternmost ships, these immediately drew out of the line, while the rest stood away under an easy sail. Captain Luttrell had now divided, and consequently weakened the enemy's force; his next object was the Alexander, one of the three ships which still continued in the line: on her he bore directly down, and succeeded, by fighting both sides of the Mediator, to cut her off from her consorts. As soon as he had succeeded in this, he poured a broadside into her, when she immediately struck her colours: the other two ships which had remained in the line, the Eugene and Menagere, immediately crowded all the sail they could carry, and stood away before the wind. Within less than an hour, the Mediator having taken the prisoners out of the Alexander, pursued them. The two vessels having separated, Captain Luttrell stood after the Menagere, and about seven o'clock in the evening he renewed the action within pistol-shot, the enemy still continuing to fly before him: he soon, however, got alongside of her, and was preparing to pour in a broadside, when she struck her colours. The loss of the English in this battle was very inconsiderable: while the

Alexander had six men killed and forty-nine wounded, the *Menagere* had four killed and eight wounded. As Captain Luttrell, in the pursuit of the latter, had drawn very near the Spanish coast, he did not think it prudent to follow the *Dauphin Royal* and the American brig. During the night after the battle, Captain Gregory, an American, who, under the French king's commission, had commanded the *Alexander*, and who, after her capture, had been removed on board the *Mediator*, laid a plot, in conjunction with his fellow-prisoners, to take possession of the ship: the signal agreed upon was the firing of a gun; this alarmed Captain Luttrell, who immediately, with the assistance of his officers, secured the prisoners, and thus saved the *Mediator*. As Captain Gregory had been upon his parole, when he engaged in this plot, Captain Luttrell deemed him no longer entitled to it, but confined him and his accomplices in irons during the rest of the passage to England.

Negotiations for a general peace were began towards the end of the year 1782; and on the 30th of November, the provisional articles were signed between Great Britain and America, which were to receive their ratification whenever peace between the former country and France should take place.

On the 5th of December this year, the parliament met: in the speech from the throne, his Majesty informed them that he had entered into negotiations for a general peace, which he hoped would be concluded on terms honourable to this country. In order, however, that the war might be carried on with vigour, if peace could not be obtained on these terms, the House of Commons voted one hundred and ten thousand men, to be employed in the sea service, including twenty-five thousand two hundred and ninety marines: the whole supplies granted by parliament amounted to upwards of 19,000,000*l.* sterling, of which 6,274,782*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* were for the navy; *viz.* for the maintenance of the seamen and marines,

5,406,000*l.*; for the ordinary, including half-pay to sea and marine officers, 451,989*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.*; towards building and repairs of ships and other extra works, 311,843*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*; and for compensation to proprietors of lands near Chatham, purchased to secure his Majesty's docks, 4949*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* On the 23d of December, 1782, the parliament was adjourned till the 21st of January, 1783.

1783. Before Parliament met again, Lord Keppel, not approving of the preliminary articles of peace, resigned his situation as first lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Howe was appointed in his stead.

The preliminary articles of peace were signed at Versailles between Great Britain, France, Spain, and America, on the 20th of January: those between Great Britain and the United Provinces, on the 2d of September; and on the 3d of that month the definitive treaty was signed at the same place. The articles more immediately connected with maritime affairs were to the following effect:

The limits of the French fishery off Newfoundland were extended, and more accurately defined; it was to stretch from Cape St. John in about 50 degrees of north latitude, passing to the north, round to Cape Ray on the western coast. St. Pierre and Miquelon were restored. In the West Indies, St. Lucia was restored, and the Island of Tobago ceded and guaranteed to France. In Africa, Great Britain restored the Island of Goree, and ceded the River Senegal with its dependent forts. In Asia, France not only recovered all her establishments in Bengal and on the coast of Orissa, but considerable additions were also made to her territory. Pondicherry and Surat were guaranteed to her. In return for these, France gave up the right to fish from Bona Vista to Cape St. John's, on the east coast of Newfoundland, which had been given to her by the treaty of Utrecht: she restored to Great Britain the Islands of Grenada, St. Vin-

cent's, Dominica, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat, in the West Indies; and guaranteed the possession of Fort James and the River Gambia, on the coast of Africa. Great Britain ceded to Spain Minorca, and East and West Florida: on the other hand, the Islands of Providence and Bahama were restored to the former power; and the right of cutting log-wood in the Bay of Honduras, confined to her subjects.

Great Britain, besides acknowledging the independence of the United States of America, gave them full liberty to fish off Newfoundland; and to cure their fish on any of the unsettled bays of that island or of Labrador.

Holland ceded Negapatnam to this country, and the latter restored Trincomalè and all the other forts, &c. which in the course of the war had been conquered from Holland. The States-General also agreed not to obstruct the navigation of British subjects in her eastern seas.

As it is foreign to the plan and object of this work to notice what relates to the general or political history of Great Britain, we shall pass over the contests and divisions in parliament, to which this peace gave rise, and also the changes of ministry which were the result of those divisions; and as the interval of peace between 1783 and the breaking out of the first French revolutionary war in 1793, can of course present nothing interesting in a naval point of view, except what relates either to voyages undertaken for the purpose of maritime discovery, or some miscellaneous topics, connected with the support of our navy, we shall briefly notice such of the last as are of the utmost importance, during this interval, reserving an account of the principal voyages of discovery, beginning with Cook's third and last voyage; for a separate chapter.

1784. In order that a comparison may be made between the number of seamen employed in time of peace;

and those employed in time of war; and also between the naval supplies at these two different periods, we shall, in a summary manner, notice the supplies voted for the sea-service in the year 1784:— Number of seamen, twenty-six thousand, including four thousand four hundred and ninety-five marines: money voted for the navy 3,153,869*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* the total supply being 14,773,715*l.*

1787. In the month of September this year, considerable dissatisfaction arose among the officers in the navy, in consequence of the conduct of the board of Admiralty, in the promotion they made: upwards of forty captains being passed over, while sixteen were promoted to the flag. This was deemed a proper subject for parliamentary notice and animadversion; and accordingly Lord Rawdon, on the 20th of February, 1788, brought it before the House of Lords, and after a speech of considerable vigour and warmth, he moved, “That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration the services of such captains of his Majesty’s navy, as were passed over in the last promotion of admirals.” This motion was strongly opposed by Lord Howe, first lord of the Admiralty, and by the earl of Sandwich, and was finally rejected without a division. A similar motion was made in the House of Commons on the 12th of April by Mr. Bastard, but was afterwards withdrawn, and brought forward in another shape on the 18th of that month: the amended motion went directly to censure the board of Admiralty, since the purport of it was, “that the house do resolve itself into a committee, to enquire into the conduct of the board of Admiralty, touching the late promotion to the flag.” It is rather a singular circumstance, that Captain Berkeley was the only naval officer who supported administration on this question: Admiral Sir Peter Parker, speaking strongly against the apparent partiality displayed in

the promotion. On a division, there were for Mr. Bastard's motion 130, against it 150. The smallness of the majority induced this gentleman to bring forward his motion in another shape, on the 29th of April, but it was then lost by a very considerable majority.

1790. In consequence of some disputes between the Spaniards and our traders and settlers at Nootka Sound, on the north-west coast of North America, ministry thought it prudent to equip and assemble at Spithead a large fleet, under the command of Earl Howe; but the matter having been amicably adjusted, the seamen were paid off, and the ships again laid up in ordinary.

1791. A powerful fleet was again assembled early this year at Spithead, under the impression that a war would take place between this country and Russia, respecting the keeping possession of Ocza-kow, which the latter power had conquered from the Turks; but the difference was adjusted in the month of August, when of course the fleet was paid off.

1792. Between the year 1784 and this year, the naval supplies had been gradually diminishing, as will appear from the following particulars; in 1792, there were sixteen thousand men, including four thousand four hundred and twenty-five marines, whereas in 1784, there were twenty-six thousand; the total supply for the navy, in 1792, was 1,985,482*l.* in 1784, 3,153,869*l.*: they bore, however, nearly the same proportion, in each year, to the whole supplies: in 1792, the total supplies were 11,138,885*l.* in 1784, 14,773,715*l.*

## ADMIRAL SIR JOHN MOORE, K. B.

THIS gentleman was born on the 24th of March, in the year 1718. His father was the second son of Henry earl of Drogheda, since created a marquis. Mr. Moore's mother, Catherine, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Knatchbull, Bart. and the widow of Admiral Sir George Rooke. Their family, besides the object of the present memoir, consisted of two sons: Henry, the eldest of the children, was struck at Cambridge whilst engaged in playing at tennis, and died on the spot: a monument was erected to his memory in the chapel of his college, Catherine Hall. The other son, Thomas, was a clergyman. Mary, who was the only daughter, married Dr. Pulteney Forester, chancellor of Lincoln, and prebend of St. Pauls. This worthy and most amiable woman survived the rest of the family, and died full of years and benevolence during the spring of 1799.

Mr. Moore received his education in a grammar-school at Whitchurch, in Shropshire: and though his ancestors before him had followed the military profession, early discovered a strong bent and inclination for the British navy.

His mother, who, from her former marriage with Sir George Rooke, was well acquainted with the hardships and perils of the navy, was led to check the early propensity of her son; but all entreaty or remonstrance was in vain. The perusal of Sir George's life had called forth the character of the young mariner; he therefore earnestly entreated to be sent to sea, and accordingly embarked, when only ten years of age, with Captain Reddish; under whom he continued for some time, and experienced from him the greatest marks of friendly attention.

Mr. Moore afterwards served as midshipman on

board the Shoreham and Torrington ; and, on being advanced lieutenant, was appointed to the Lancaster. The Lords Rockingham and Winchelsea, who were his relations, rendered him, at this early period of life, essential service ; and, by their patronage, enabled him to overcome those difficulties which are frequently scattered in the avenues to fame, to try and prove the mind that dares to rise. Mr. Moore's character at this period is described as displaying a bold, open disposition, heightened with a cheerful mind, that suffered no disappointment to affect it. His attention was constantly fixed on his profession : whatever he read, observed, or conversed about, the British navy was the object he had continually before him ; and, by associating, as much as possible, with officers who were older, and of rank superior to his own, he acquired an energy and experience above his years.

During the period of his continuing a lieutenant, from some mistake he received a shot from a sentry in one of the ships, while on duty at night rowing guard ; owing to which Lieutenant Moore had nearly lost his sight, and never entirely recovered it : in consequence of this accident, the custom of rowing guard was for some time discontinued.

Having served as lieutenant in the *Namur*, Admiral Matthews, and completed his time, Mr. Moore returned in the *Lenox* to England, and was soon advanced commander, through the interest of his relation Lord Winchelsea.

On the 24th of December, 1743, Captain Moore, having been advanced to post rank, accompanied Captain Curtis Baret, in the *Diamond*, who had been appointed commodore of a squadron destined for the East Indies ; the directors of the East India Company being apprehensive, that the company's settlements in that quarter would be endangered, should the French obtain a superiority in their naval force on that station. Commodore Baret sailed from



Spithead on the 5th of May, and anchored with his squadron in Port Praya Bay, in the Island of St. Jago, on the 26th.

The commodore having asserted the neutrality of Port Praya, and chastised the conduct of the captain of a Spanish privateer who had violated it, proceeded to his station, touching at the Island of Madagascar to take in water and provisions. The French at this time had only one ship of fifty guns in the Indian seas. A plan being formed for intercepting the French ships on their return from China, Commodore Bernet on leaving Madagascar divided his squadron into two parts; the Deptford and Preston proceeded to the Straits of Sunda, and thence into those of Banca; whilst the Medway and Diamond made for the Straits of Malacca.

Having followed the example of the commodore, in disguising their ships so as to resemble Dutchmen, the Medway and Diamond in their way to their station, stopped at Achen, the most considerable port at the west end of the Island of Sumatra. Captains Peyton and Moore here captured a large French privateer, fitted out by the East India Company at Pondicherry: and on arriving in the Straits of Malacca, took a French ship from Manilla, that had on board seventy-two chests of dollars containing three thousand each; and two chests of gold, alone worth thirty thousand pounds. They soon afterwards heard of the success of the commodore, from a Swedish vessel; and having brought their prizes in safety to the general rendezvous at Batavia, sailed for Madras, where they arrived in July: the French privateer that was taken by the Captains Peyton and Moore, was afterwards purchased into the service, and made a forty-gun ship, with the name of the Medway's prize.

During the above separation of the ships, on the 30th of March, 1745, Captain John Philipson of the Deptford died, and was succeeded by Captain Moore.

He by this means was placed under the immediate eye of the commodore, who had the greatest opinion of this officer's abilities, and who, in consequence, prior to their leaving England, had requested him to attend the expedition.

Previously to the death of Commodore Barnet on the 29th of April, 1746, in the prime of life, in whom his country experienced a severe loss just as the French were preparing at their islands to sail for the coast of Coromandel; it being found necessary to send the *Deptford* and *Diamond* to England, Captain Moore returned home in the former.

Captain Moore returned to England to fight under the immediate auspices of Rear-admiral Hawke; being soon after his arrival from the East Indies appointed captain of the *Devonshire* of sixty-six guns. Our government having received information, that the French had collected in Basque Road a very large fleet of merchant ships, bound for the West Indies, and that a strong squadron of ships of war had sailed from Brest to escort them; the Admiralty sent Rear-admiral Hawke to sea, August the 9th, 1747, with fourteen sail of the line, and some frigates. The enemy sailed from the Isle of Aix on the 7th of October, O. S. and the same day came to an anchor in Rochelle Road; the succeeding morning they pursued their voyage, and were all captured by our brave mariners, except *Le Tonnant* and *L'Intrepide*.

Captain Moore particularly distinguished himself on this occasion, and received in consequence the warm commendation of his commander, who, in his official letter, says, "I have sent this express by Captain Moore, of the *Devonshire*, in the *Hector*; and it would be doing great injustice to merit, not to say, that he signalized himself greatly in the action."

Every exertion that was possible had been made by the Captains Saunders, Saumarez, and Rodney, to prevent the *Tonnant* and *Intrepide* from making their escape: but their brave spirit was called forth

in vain, being attended with the loss of that heroic and ever-to-be-lamented officer Captain Saumarez, of the Nottingham. As soon as it grew dark, the admiral brought his fleet to anchor for the night: and it being decided by the council of war, which was called the next morning, that it would be imprudent to send any of the ships in pursuit of the convoy, the Weasel sloop was dispatched to Commodore Legge at the Leeward Islands, that he might use every possible means to fall in with the French merchant ships; and in consequence of this, many of them were taken.

Admiral Hawke arrived with his prizes at Portsmouth, on the 31st of October; all of which, except the Neptune, were purchased, and added to the British navy. The loss of the British amounted to one hundred and fifty-four men killed, and five hundred and fifty-eight wounded.

Captain Moore, who brought home the first intelligence of this glorious victory, received the usual present from his sovereign of five hundred pounds. This officer was also captain under Sir Peter Warren for nearly two years; but we are not able to ascertain, whether it was prior or subsequent to the above event: such was the esteem which Sir Peter Warren had for Captain Moore, that he appointed him his executor. In the year 1749 he was appointed to the Monmouth of seventy guns: during the peace he commanded for a time the William and Mary yacht; and in the month of April, 1756, was re-appointed to his old ship the Devonshire.

Throughout the painful and perplexing days of Admiral Byng's trial, which commenced on board the St. George in Portsmouth harbour, Tuesday, December 28, 1756, and which history holds up as a beacon to posterity; Captain Moore, who was one of the members of the court-martial, displayed great clearness of mind and independence of spirit.

Attempts were made to save Admiral Byng, and Captain Moore was one of the members of the court-

martial who on this occasion petitioned parliament to be released from their oath of secrecy.

During the year 1757, Commodore Moore, with his broad pendant flying on board the *Cambridge*, of eighty guns, relieved Admiral Frankland in the command on the Leeward Island station, who proceeded to England in the *Winchester*. This squadron was of essential service in protecting the trade of the islands: Captain Middleton, in the *Blandford* alone, captured no less than seventeen privateers, for which he was voted a sword of one hundred pistoles value by the assembly of the Island of Barbadoes.

Commodore Moore in the ensuing year, 1758, detached Captain Tyrrell on a cruise with the *Buckingham*, of seventy guns, and *Cambridge* of eighty guns; who immediately sailed in quest of some privateers reported to be at anchor in Grand Ance Bay: he destroyed three, and took a fourth, though they had got close in shore under cover of a battery.

The last, and most distinguished events in the life of Commodore Moore, were the attack on the Island of Martinico, and the taking of Guadaloupe, on the 1st of May, 1759. Towards the close of the preceding year, intelligence had been received that the French Caribbee Islands might easily be reduced. Accordingly a squadron of eight ships of the line, with the *Renown* of thirty guns, and the *Infernal*, the *Grenada*, *King's Fisher*, and *Falco* bombs, sailed from England in November, under the command of Captain Robert Hughes; with seven hundred marines, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Rycout; and sixty transports, containing six regiments of foot. General Hopson commanded the land forces, assisted by Major-general Barrington, and Brigadier-generals Armiger, Haldane, Trepaud, and Clavering; whilst the fleet was under the orders of Commodore Moore.

On the morning of the 23d of January, at seven o'clock, the commodore, who had arranged every

thing in an admirable manner for the grand attack, shifted his broad pendant on board the Woolwich, to direct and keep the transports together in a proper manner for the landing of the troops; as also to be enabled by this means to consult proper measures with the general, who saw the necessity of having the commodore with him; and requested that himself, with the other general officers and engineers, might be admitted on board the Woolwich for the same reasons.

About nine the firing from all sides commenced, which continued with the utmost spirit until night, when the judgment of the commodore plainly appeared; the citadel and all the batteries being effectually silenced. The bombs, which had been continually showered on the town, had taken effect in several places; owing to the quantity of rum and sugar in the warehouses, the town burnt without intermission the whole of the ensuing day: the horror of the spectacle cannot be described; a mutual and unremitting fire of many ships and batteries, heightened with a line of flames which extended along the shore, formed the back ground of this terrible view. It was intended to land the troops on the evening of the day the attack commenced; but it being dark before they were ready, they were not disembarked until the next day (the 24th), when the whole fleet came to an anchor in the bay by two o'clock P. M.; and at three, the signal being thrown out to prepare to land, Commodore Moore put the troops in possession of the town and fort, without their being in the smallest degree annoyed by the enemy. Captains Shuldhham, Gambier, and Burnet, conducted the debarkation. The French were constantly supplied with provisions by the Dutch, from the time they were driven to the mountains, until they surrendered.

As a considerable part of the subsequent operations were military, conducted under the auspices of the navy, we shall not enter into a minute detail of them.

A most spirited attack was made by the squadron detached by the commodore under Captain Harman on the 13th of February against Fort Louis, on the Grand Terre side of the island; in which the brave marines, and Highlanders, well supported their accustomed character.

On the 27th of February General Hopson died, worn out with age and infirmities; who had accepted the command from a principle of honour, as being offered by his king. He was succeeded by General Barrington.

About the 11th of March, Commodore Moore receiving intelligence of the arrival of a squadron under the command of Monsieur Bompard, consisting of eight ships of the line and three large frigates, and that he was then lying between the Isles Des Ramieres and Point Negro, in the great bay of Fort Royal, Martinico; whence he might throw succours into Grand Terre, without a possibility of the commodore's being able to prevent it, whilst continuing in his present situation; he resolved instantly to call in the cruising ships, and sail for Prince Rupert's Bay, Dominica: where he would become early acquainted with the motion of the enemy: and as he would then be to the windward of Guadaloupe, he would be able to follow M. Bompard, if necessary. The *Rocbuck* was accordingly left to guard the transports; and on the 13th of March, the commodore sailed to Prince Rupert's Bay, where he was joined by the *St. George*, *Buckingham*, *Rippon*, and *Bristol*.

The following are the reasons which the commodore assigned for his conduct: the Bay of Dominica was the only place in which he could rendezvous, and unite his squadron; here he refreshed his men, who were grown sickly in consequence of subsisting on salt provisions; here he supplied his ships with plenty of fresh water; here he had an intercourse, once or twice every day, with General Barrington, by means

of small vessels which passed and repassed from one island to the other: by remaining in this situation he likewise maintained a communication with the English Leeward Islands, which being in a defenceless condition, their inhabitants were constantly soliciting the commodore's protection; and here also he supported the army, the commander of which was unwilling that he should move to a greater distance. Had the commodore sailed to Port Royal he would have found the enemy's squadron so disposed, that he could not have attacked them, unless Monsieur De Bompard had been inclined to hazard an action. Had Commodore Moore anchored in the bay, all his cruisers must have been employed in conveying provisions and stores to the squadron: there he could not have procured either fresh provisions or water; nor could he have any communication with, or intelligence from the army in the Leeward Islands, in less than eight or ten days.

On the 22d of April, M. Nadau, the governor of the Island of Guadaloupe, sent Messrs. Clainvilliers and Duquercy to General Clavering's head-quarters to demand a suspension of arms, and to know what terms the general would be pleased to grant them: in consequence of which, General Barrington hastened to the above officer; at whose quarters, on the 25th of April, the terms of capitulation were agreed to, and signed on the 1st of May.

The Island of Marigalante, Les Saintes, Descada, and Petite Terre, soon surrendered on the same terms as Guadaloupe. The French had taken such pains to conceal the value of the latter, that the people of England, whose minds had been fixed on the conquest of Martinico, were not at first sensible of the prize which the commodore had gained. Guadaloupe is allowed to be greatly superior in value to Martinico: of all the conquests made from France during the war, this was by far the most beneficial to Great Britain. Captain Gardiner, in his account

of the expedition declares, that Guadaloupe is of greater consequence than Martinico; that it is stronger and more capable of defence; that it was a nest of privateers who did incredible damage to our shipping; that the soil is so fertile that the canes are sometimes cut six times without replanting; and that the greatest part of what are called Martinico sugars are the real produce of Guadaloupe.

Having removed into the Berwick of sixty-four guns, the commodore returned to England, soon after the above event, and arrived in the Downs on the 23d of June, 1760. On the 21st of October, 1762, he was advanced rear-admiral of the red; and held the command in the Downs till the peace. On the 4th of March, 1766, Admiral Moore was created a baronet for the services he had rendered his country, and soon afterwards was appointed port admiral at Portsmouth. In October, 1770, he was advanced vice-admiral of the blue, and in a few days to the white. This truly valuable and judicious officer received a farther mark of his sovereign's approbation on the 25th of June, 1772, when he was honoured with the military order of the Bath. On the 31st of March, 1775, he was made vice-admiral of the red, and in January, 1778, admiral of the blue. His health had long been injured by the professional duties he had been engaged in, amid such a variety of climates: the gout, to which he had been long subject, increased the violence of its attacks during the year 1777, and baffling all medical assistance, proved at length fatal. Sir John Moore died on the 24th of March, 1778, and was buried with his father and mother in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields.

The character of this excellent officer, and worthy man, may be known by that of his intimate friends, the Admirals Keppel and Pigott: kindred hearts soon discover each other, and establish a reciprocal regard that does not change. The mind of Sir John Moore possessed all the frankness and affability of



the first, with a greater portion of strength. Sir John was generous, disinterested, and independant: but he had gained a more perfect knowledge of human nature than his friend Lord Keppel. Sir John Moore well knew that the best of men were sent forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; he was, therefore, wise as the serpent, and harmless as the dove. His penetration into the motives of his superiors, was beyond that which his friend Admiral Pigot enjoyed. Sir John Moore saw men with the eye of an hawk: and having in consequence once formed his opinion, was not easily induced to alter it.

## MAURICE SUCKLING, ESQ.

IT will not perhaps be thought impertinent in us to remark, that Captain Suckling, the subject of the present memoir, was the maternal uncle of the Lord Viscount Nelson, a name which must ever stand revered by every lover of his native country, and by every honest Briton, till the record of great and glorious deeds shall be no more. Without depreciating the merits of the noble nephew, may we not venture so far as to claim no small portion of regard for the tutor, the instructor, the foster-parent, as he may, without impropriety, be called, in nautical pursuits, of a man whose high deserts have not in many instances been equalled, and in none exceeded. Captain Suckling was the descendant\* of a family holding

\* “ Descended from the same stock with the celebrated poet, Sir John Suckling, Knt. who was born at Witham, in the county of Middlesex, in the year 1613, and who even in his infancy gave the strongest proofs of his possessing those very elegant talents for which he afterwards became so celebrated. He is said to have spoken Latin at five years old, and to have written it at nine; from this early foundation, he proceeded in the course of his studies, to apply the use of words to the attainment of the arts and sciences, most of which he arrived to in an eminent degree. Those

considerable respectability, and boasting no small claim to antiquity, in the county of Norfolk; he entered into the navy at a very early age, and after

which he more particularly admired were musick and poetry; and though he excelled in both, he professed neither, so as to make them his business, but used them rather as his mistresses, to soften the harshness and dryness of his other studies, just as his leisure or fancy inclined him. His learning in other kinds was polite and general; and though the sprightliness and vivacity of his temper would not suffer him to be long intent upon one study, yet he had that which made amends for it, in his strength of capacity and genius, which required less pains and application in him, than it did in others, to make himself master of it. When he had taken a survey of the most remarkable things at home, he travelled to digest and enlarge his notions, from a view of other countries; where he made a collection of their virtues, without any tincture of their vices and follies: only that some thought he had a little too much of the French air, which being not so agreeable to the gravity and solidity for which his father was remarkable, or, indeed to the severity of the times he lived in, was imputed to him as a fault, and the effect of his travels. But it was certainly rather natural, than acquired in him; the easiness of his carriage and address being suitable to the openness of his heart, and to the gaiety, wit, and gallantry, which were so conspicuous in him; and he seems all along to have piqued himself upon nothing more than the character of a courtier and a fine gentleman; which he so far attained, that he was allowed to have the peculiar happiness of making every thing he did become him.

“He was not so devoted to the muses, or to the softness and luxury of courts, as to be wholly a stranger to the camp: in his travels, he made a campaign under the great Gustavus Adolphus, where he was present at three battles and five sieges, besides other skirmishes between parties; and from such a considerable scene of action, gained as much experience in six months, as otherwise he might have done in as many years. After his return to his country, he raised a troop of horse, for the king’s service, entirely at his own charge, and so richly and completely mounted, that it stood him in twelve thousand pounds. But his endeavours did not meet with the success he promised himself for his Majesty’s service, which he laid very much to heart, and soon after this miscarriage, was seized with a fever, of which he died at twenty-eight years of age; in which short space he had done enough to procure him the love and esteem of all the politest men who conversed with him; but as he had set out in the world with all the advantages of birth, person, education, talents, and fortune, he had raised people’s expectation of him to a very great height; and if his character does not appear enough distinguished in the history of those times, it can be

having obtained the rank of lieutenant, by commission, bearing date March the 8th, 1744-5, remained without farther advancement for the space of ten years.

This circumstance which, acting on a general principle, might be considered as lessening the merit of an active and able officer, has, in the present instance the singular effect of redounding most highly to his credit and honour. To establish this fact, it is not necessary to do more, than resort to the date of his commission, as lieutenant: when it will be found, that the short continuance of the war, which existed not longer than three years, from that time, might naturally be considered as precluding an expectation of advancement, unless the regular pretensions of the most strictly meritorious character were assisted by the extraneous aid of family consequence and influence, or the fortuitous chance which unhappily falls only to the lot of a few, of signaling themselves in that subordinate station, to so eminent a degree, that the neglect of promotion should become the theme of public clamour.

At the conclusion of the peace in 1748, Mr. Suckling was obliged to be content with remaining unadvanced, till chance, or the recommencement of hostilities, should again introduce him to the remembrance of those who knew, and who would gladly

ascribed to nothing but the immaturity of his death, which did not allow him time for action. His poems are clear, sprightly, and natural; his discourses full and convincing; his plays well humour'd and taking; his letters fragrant and sparkling: it was remarked too, that his thoughts were not so loose as his expressions, nor his life so vain as his thoughts; and at the same time an allowance was made for his youth and sanguine complexion, which would easily have been rectified by a little more time and experience. Of this we have instances in his occasional discourse about religion, to Lord Dorset, to whom he had the honour to be related; and in his state of the posture of affairs in the State to Mr. Jermin, afterwards earl of St. Alban's, in both which he has discovered that he could think as coolly, and reason as justly, as men of more years and less fire.

have rewarded his abilities, had not the claims of merit far exceeded in number the power of official gratitude to remunerate. The restless spirit of France, however, reviving on the instant she had acquired sufficient time to renovate her marine, nearly ruined in the course of the preceding war, and becoming daily more suspicious and alarming, with respect to the continuance of public tranquillity, Britain felt herself forcibly impelled to the equipment of an armament, sufficient to resist any insidious attack made by an artful and designing foe, ever watchful to seize the slightest opportunity of gratifying her propensity to mischief, or advancing her own ambitious views.

Among the first officers who were called forth in the service of their country, on this occasion, was Mr. Suckling, who was appointed captain of the *Dreadnought*, a fourth rate, of sixty guns, by commission bearing date December the 2d, 1755.

Very little apprehension being entertained of any mischief that could be effected by the utmost efforts of the enemy against Great Britain herself, or any of her European dependencies, the eye of national jealousy naturally became bent on the distant colonies in the East and West Indies, as well as in North America: the naval force in those quarters was accordingly strengthened in such degree, as seemed sufficient to avert any danger with which they could be threatened. Among other ships ordered to the West Indies, was the *Dreadnought*, where, for some time, no occasion presented itself, in which the abilities or gallantry of Captain Suckling could be called forth into action; however, in the month of October, 1757, he experienced some amends for his former inactivity. The *Dreadnought* making one of a small squadron of three sail, consisting in addition to herself, of the *Augusta* and *Edinburgh*, the former of sixty, the latter of sixty-four guns, all placed under the orders of Mr. Forrest, Captain of the *Augusta*, as senior officer, with the nominal rank of commodore, being or-

dered on a cruise off Cape François, fell in with the French squadron consisting of seven sail, four of which were of the line, one of 44 guns, and two frigates, which quitted the security derived from the batteries under which they lay, and put to sea in the presumptuous hope of annihilating Mr. Forrest and his little squadron, or at least of acquiring the honour of driving him from the coast.

The event, however, by no means answered what must naturally be supposed to have been the expectation of the enemy: the British captains, nothing dismayed at the apparent superiority of their antagonists, prepared for battle without a moment's hesitation; the particulars of the encounter are thus officially related by Rear-admiral Cotes, in his public letter, written in Port Royal Harbour on the 9th of November following, and which is nearly an exact copy of Mr. Forrest's own report to Mr. Cotes.

“ On the 25th of last month, Captain Forrest, in the *Augusta*, with the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh* under his command, returned from the cruise off Cape François; on the 21st they fell in with seven ships of war; at seven in the morning, the *Dreadnought* made the signal for seeing the enemy's fleet coming out of Cape François, and at noon discovered with certainty they were four ships of the line, and three large frigates. Captain Forrest then made the signal for the captains, Suckling and Langdon,\* who

\* This gentleman was appointed a lieutenant in 1743; but no subsequent mention is made of him till his promotion to the rank of post captain; his first commission bearing date June 5, 1756, for the *Edinburgh*. He was, not long afterwards, ordered to the West Indies, where, in the ensuing year, he highly distinguished himself under the command of Captain Forrest, in the attack and discomfiture of the French squadron, off Cape François. Mr. Langdon does not appear, however, to have been fortunate enough to meet with any second and equally fortunate opportunity of distinguishing himself, for we find no further mention made of him till the beginning of the year 1761, when he was promoted to the *Ocean*, a second rate then just launched. In this ship he continued to serve during the remainder of the war, employed, we believe, en-

agreed with him to engage them : accordingly they all bore down ; and about twenty minutes after three the action began with great briskness on both sides. It continued for two hours and a half, when the French commodore making a signal, one of the frigates immediately came to tow him out of the line, and the rest of the French ships followed him. Our ships had suffered so much in their masts, sails, and rigging, that they were in no condition to pursue them. Both officers and seamen behaved with the greatest resolution the whole time of the action, and were unhappy at the conclusion of it, that the ships were not in a condition to follow the French, who had frigates to tow them off. The French, on this occasion, had put on board the *Sceptre* her full complement of guns, either from the shore, or out of the India ships, and had also mounted the *Outarde*, store-ship, with her full proportion of guns, and had taken not only the men out of the merchant-ships, but soldiers from the garrison, in hopes their appearance would frighten our small squadron, and oblige them to leave the coast clear for them to carry out their large convoy of merchant ships ; but our captains were too gallant to be terrified at their formidable appearance. So far from avoiding them, they bore down and engaged them with the greatest resolution and good conduct ; and I have the pleasure

tirely in the channel fleet, under Sir Edward Hawke and other admirals who held that command, which became extremely uninteresting at that period, the French never venturing to send a fleet to sea, after the signal defeat they sustained at the destruction of Conllan's armament. He lived totally in retirement after the conclusion of the war ; a circumstance unhappily occasioned by infirmities and ill health. So highly were his former merits and services esteemed, that, when he became entitled by seniority, to his flag, though so long absent from actual service, he was not put on the superannuated list, but advanced to be rear-admiral of the White. This promotion took place on the 26th of September, 1780 ; but he did not live long enough to experience any farther addition to his rank, dying on the 29th of June, 1785, being then seventy-four years old.

to acquaint their lordships, that the captains, officers, seamen, and marines, have done their duty on this occasion much to their honour. I hope their good behaviour will be approved by their lordships."

In respect to Captain Suckling himself, the following particulars are added, which peculiarly relate to him; The Dreadnought getting on the Intrepid's bow, kept her helm hard on starboard to rake her, or, if she proceeded, to fall on board in the most advantageous manner; but she chose to bear up, and continued to do so during the action, till she became disabled. By thus bearing short on her own ship, those astern were thrown into disorder, from which they never recovered; and when the Intrepide dropped, and was relieved by the Opiniatre, the Greenwich in confusion fell on board her, while the Sceptre pressing on, the whole of the enemies' ships were furiously cannonaded by the Edinburgh and Augusta, especially the Intrepide, which lay dismantled in a very shattered condition, having a signal out for relief.\*

It is asserted, and with truth, that, when a council of war was held, the question was not, what superior force the enemy had, or how unequal the combat? the commanding officer saying to the other two, "Gentlemen, you see the force of the enemy, is it your resolution to fight them or not?" Upon which they both resolutely answered, "It is." Here, subjoins the account, the council of war ended, having lasted about half a minute. The whole of this short relation is strict in point of fact, but being a mere

\* The force of the enemy's squadron, which had been equipped for the special purpose of attacking Captain Suckling and his companions, and which, by the addition of extra guns and men, had been rendered as formidable as all the means the condition and state of the French arsenal at Cape François allowed, and the resources of the foe as to the latter, admitted, consisted of the Intrepide and Sceptre, of 74 guns each; L'Opiniatre, of 64; L'Outarde, of 44; the Greenwich, of 50; and the Savage and Unicorn, of 34 guns each. To increase the disparity, the Edinburgh and Augusta were both extremely foul at the time of the engagement.

abridged memorandum of what actually took place, we trust we shall stand excused for entering into a more enlarged detail of it.

As soon as the enemy's squadron was discovered to be in motion, and the circumstance was communicated by signal to Mr. Forrest, as senior officer, he instantly answered it by another, requiring Captains Suckling and Langdon to come on board him. The boats of both ships reached the *Augusta* together, on opposite sides, so that the two gentlemen arrived on the gangway at the same instant. Captain Forrest was then standing in the centre of the quarter deck, near the barriade. "There are those fellows," said he, "pretending to come out and drive us off the coast, what do you say : shall we meet them or not?" Langdon replied, "Yes." Captain Suckling, "By all means." "Then go back to your ships," rejoined Captain Forrest, "and clear for action." They did so, and actually returned without either of them having stepped from the gangway to the quarter deck of the *Augusta*.

A whimsical occurrence took place during the action, which was related by Captain Suckling himself. There was on board a very favourite monkey, which belonged to one of the officers ; by some accident it got loose while they were clearing ship ; the instant it regained its freedom, it ran up the mizen shrouds, and having seated itself very composedly on the truck, continued there quietly during the whole of the encounter ; as soon as it ceased, the animal very deliberately returned unhurt to its former place of abode.

To pretend that any pre-eminent share of merit was attached to the conduct of Mr. Suckling on this occasion, would be an unjust depreciation of the characters of those who were his colleagues ; indeed no instance ever did or could occur, where the exertions of all the persons concerned bore a more equal relation to each other ; in few words they all seemed actuated in an equal degree by the same impulse ; and



their enemies found, to their cost, the energetic support which each man rendered his companion, formed a sufficient barrier against that wonderful superiority, which men possessing weaker minds would have considered it vain or rash to have contended against.

The number of persons killed or wounded on board the *Dreadnought*, amounted to thirty-nine, which exceeded indeed, though in a trivial degree, the loss sustained on board the other ships, and the equality of disasters evidently proves the duly apportioned share which each ship bore in the contest.

Captain Suckling continued to command the *Dreadnought* during a considerable part of the remainder of the then existing war; but was not fortunate enough to meet with any second opportunity of distinguishing himself in a manner equally glorious to what he had done on the occasion just related. Having, however, returned to Europe in the year 1761, and the *Dreadnought* needing considerable repairs, Mr. Suckling was appointed to the *Lancaster*, of 60 guns, one of the ships employed progressively under the commands of Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy, in cruising in the Channel. But owing to the very severe chastisement which the French had received from Sir Edward Hawke in the encounter off Belleisle in 1759, they never ventured; and in so reduced a state indeed was their navy, that they never were able, even if such had been their wish, to send forth any armament into the European seas, capable of contending with the fleet of Britain; so that this period also of Mr. Suckling's naval life passed on as uninterestingly as had the latter part of his service on board the *Dreadnought*. On the 19th of June, 1764, he married the honourable Mary Walpole, sister to the late lord, and eldest daughter to Horatio, first Lord Walpole, by Mary, daughter to Peter Lombard, Esq.

After the conclusion of the war, Captain Suckling

took upon him no subsequent naval command till the year 1770, when he hoisted his pendant on board the *Raisable*, of sixty-four guns, one of the ships put into commission on the apprehension of a rupture with Spain, on account of the very extraordinary conduct of that court relative to the Falkland Islands.\*

\* These islands were probably seen by Magellan, Sharpe, and Drake; nevertheless Davies is supposed to have been the first that discovered them in 1592. In the year 1594, they were visited by Sir Richard Hawkins, who saw some fires, and supposed them to have been inhabited. They were called by him Hawkins' Maiden Land. The name of Falkland is said to have been given to them by Captain Strong, in 1639. Roggewin, who passed by the east coast in the year 1721, called them South Belgia; they have likewise been called New islands, of St. Lewis, and Mallouines, but the name of Falkland has generally prevailed. They consist of two large islands, with a great number of smaller surrounding them, and are situated in the southern Atlantic ocean, to the eastward of the Straits of Magellan. In the year 1764, Commodore Byron was dispatched by the British court to take possession of these islands, and settle a colony at a place which he called Port Egmont. They were at first represented as a valuable acquisition, but were ceded to Spain in the year 1774. Indeed these islands do not seem likely to have been any advantage to great Britain, as we learn from the observations of Captain M'Bride, who says, "We found a mass of islands and broken lands, of which the soil was nothing but a bog, with no better prospect than that of barren mountains, beaten by storms almost perpetual. Yet this is summer, and if the winds of winter hold their natural proportion, those who lie but two cables' length from the shore, must pass weeks without having any communication with it." Besides the names above mentioned, they have also been called Pepy's Islands, and Sebald De Wert's Islands. Long. 56 degrees 30 minutes, to 62 degrees 16 minutes W. Greenwich; lat. 51 degrees 6 minutes, to 52 degrees 30 minutes S.

The author of the *History of England*, in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to his Son, generally, though erroneously, attributed to Lord Lyttleton, gives the following concise account of the transaction: "In the course of the summer, the Spaniards sent out some ships and seized upon Falkland's Islands, where the English had lately made a settlement, and erected a fort; and this violation of peace had nearly involved us in a war with that nation. A negociation, however, took place, and the Spaniards restored the islands. It was privately stipulated that they should be after-

The dispute being amicably terminated, the Reasonable was put out of commission, and Captain Suckling was in the month of May 1771, appointed to command the *Triumph*, of seventy-four guns, one of the guardships stationed, according to the custom of the peace establishment, in the river Medway. In this ship he remained during the usual allotted period of three years, and his appointment has since become particularly interesting to the country, from its having been the æra when the first rudiments of maritime knowledge were implanted in that great and ever to be honoured character the late Lord Viscount Nelson, who is nephew to this gentleman. The foregoing was the last command he ever held as a naval officer; for very shortly after he quitted the *Triumph*, he was appointed comptroller of the navy, as successor to Sir Hugh Palliser, who was about the same time appointed a flag officer. On this event taking place, Captain Suckling was chosen representative in parliament for the borough of Portsmouth, but did not long enjoy these honours, having, though in the very prime of life, fallen a victim to sudden disease in the month of July, 1778.

wards evacuated by Great Britain, and since that time no settlement has been made upon them. The pens of the political writers were employed to magnify or diminish the consequence of these islands, according as they were engaged for or against the ministry. Junius, a popular and elegant writer, whose real name has never yet been discovered, was at this time a formidable opponent to administration; and Dr. Samuel Johnson, whose moral and critical writings are above all praise, ranged himself on their side. On the whole, if the affront to the nation be overlooked, it does not appear that the possession of these islands was worth contending for."

## SIR CHARLES HARDY, KNT.

ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE SQUADRON, GOVERNOR OF  
GREENWICH HOSPITAL, &c.

IT is not a little remarkable, that the late Sir Charles Hardy, his father, and his grandfather, were all in the navy; and that each of them had the honour of being knighted, for his respective services.

His grandfather, Sir Thomas Hardy, was a native of the Island of Guernsey. He entered into the navy under the patronage of Admiral Churchill, whom he had served in the capacity of clerk, and who procured for him a lieutenant's commission. He was made commander in the Charles fire-ship, on the 6th of January, 1693; and, in the month of May following, he was removed into the Swallow prize, a small frigate, of eighteen guns, which was stationed off Guernsey, to protect the trade of that island from the depredations of French privateers. He is believed to have attained to the command of a ship of the line, very soon after his entrance into the service, and is thought to have been never unemployed; but the only mention which is made of him, during the reign of King William, is, that in October, 1696, when captain of the Pendennis, of forty-eight guns, he was employed to convoy the mast ships from Norway.

Soon after the accession of Queen Anne, Captain Hardy commanded the Pembroke, of sixty guns, in which he accompanied Sir George Rooke in the expedition against Cadiz. After the failure of that enterprise, Sir George, on his way to England, found his fleet deficient in water; in consequence of which, he sent Captain Hardy, in the Pembroke, accompanied by the Eagle, the Stirling Castle, and several of the

transports, to water in Lagos Bay. This circumstance incidentally led to the subsequent successful attack upon the Spanish galleons at Vigo, under convoy of a French fleet. "The enemy's ships," says Colliber, "consisted of fifteen men of war, from seventy-six to forty-two guns, two frigates, and a fire-ship; of which five were brought off by the English, and one by the Dutch, the rest being either burnt or bilged. The galleons, which had run up the river as far as they conveniently could, were seventeen; four of which were taken afloat, and two ashore, by the English, and five by the Dutch: the others were burnt."

In the Bedford, Sir Thomas Hardy accompanied Sir Cloudesley Shovel into the Mediterranean, in the following year; and, while there, he had the good fortune to capture a valuable ship from St. Domingo, laden with sugar.

In 1704, continuing in the same ship, he went again to the Mediterranean, with Sir George Rooke; and, in the memorable action off Malaga, on the 13th of August, he bore a very conspicuous part, the Bedford having seventy-four men killed and wounded. At the close of the year, having been removed into the Kent, he returned to England with Sir Cloudesley Shovel.

In the year 1706, he served under Sir Stafford Fairbone, in his expedition to the River Charente, and afterwards in that against Ostend. At the latter end of the same year, he commanded, as commodore, a small squadron which was ordered to cruise in Soundings; a service in which he was not very successful, a French letter of marque, of twenty guns, being the most considerable of his prizes.

Sir Thomas continued to command the Kent till the beginning of the year 1708, when he was appointed first captain to Sir John Leake, who had just before been invested with the chief command of the fleet bound to the Mediterranean. He was indebted

for this appointment, according to the writer of Sir John Leake's life, to the express solicitation of Admiral Churchill.

In the month of October following, Sir Thomas Hardy returned to England; and from that time till the beginning of 1711, he does not appear to have had any command. He was then promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and, having hoisted his flag on board the *Canterbury*, of sixty guns, he was sent with four small ships of the line, and as many frigates, to blockade the port of Dunkirk. Notwithstanding his vigilance, however, several ships found means to escape, and others to enter that harbour. This was chiefly owing to a strong southerly, and south-west-wind, which obliged him to quit his station, and to put into Yarmouth Roads. In the succeeding year, whilst cruising in the Soundings, he captured six large French merchant ships, outward bound, which were richly laden; but, although they were taken before any orders had been issued for a suspension of hostilities, the administration thought proper to give them up, allotting to the captors a sum of money far inferior to their value.

The peace of Ryswic taking place almost immediately after this event, Sir Thomas Hardy struck his flag, and held no other appointment during the reign of Queen Anne.

At the accession of George the First, he was invested with the command at Plymouth, for the purpose of forwarding the equipment of a squadron, lest any formidable attempt should be made in favour of the Pretender.

In the spring of 1715, Sir Thomas Hardy, as second in command under Sir John Norris, sailed from the Nore, with a strong squadron, to join the fleets of Russia, Denmark, and Holland, in the Baltic, against the Swedes, who had seized and confiscated several English merchant vessels, under the pretence that they were assisting the Russians, with whom

the Swedes were then at war, with arms and warlike stores. The confederates met, and remained in the Baltic till the middle of November; but the Swedes very prudently kept out of their reach; and, the season being too far advanced for any farther naval operations in those seas, the English squadron returned home.

According to some manuscript accounts, Sir Thomas Hardy was, in the following year, dismissed from the service; but is said to have been afterwards restored to his rank, and to have been made vice-admiral of the red. No cause whatever is assigned for the alleged dismissal; nor, were it not from several concurrent testimonies, would the statement, from its improbability, seem to be deserving of credit. However, Sir Thomas does not appear, after this time, to have been called into actual service. He died in retirement, in the month of August, 1732.

The earliest notice that we find of Sir Charles Hardy, the son of the preceding is, that, on the 28th of June, 1709, he was made captain of the *Dunwich*, and stationed as a cruiser in the German Ocean. In 1710, he captured a privateer, which had done considerable mischief amongst the coasting trade; and was afterwards sent to the West Indies, with the squadron under the command of Commodore Lytleton. From this time, until 1718, we find no mention made of him; though he is supposed to have held several intermediate appointments. In the year just stated, he commanded the *Guernsey*, of fifty guns, one of the squadron sent to the Baltic under Sir John Norris, to act in conjunction with the Danish fleet against the Swedes. He returned to England with the squadron, at the latter end of the year; and in 1720, he was captain of the *Defiance*, a fourth rate, of sixty guns, one of the fleet again sent upon the same service, and under the same commander. At the end of the season, Sir John Norris returned home, and Captain Hardy quitted the *Defiance*.

We are again ignorant of the services on which he was employed, till the year 1726, when he was appointed to the *Grafton*, of 70 guns, one of the squadron which was intended to be sent to the Baltic, under the orders of Sir Charles Wager, to overawe the Czarina; but, from illness, or some other cause, he resigned the command of the *Grafton*, before the squadron sailed. He was next appointed to the *Stirling Castle*, of 70 guns, and ordered for the Mediterranean, where he served, during the two succeeding years, under Admiral Hopson and Sir Charles Wager; the latter having been, in the month of January, 1727, sent out with a reinforcement, and to take upon him the command, in consequence of the attack menaced by the Spaniards on the fortress of Gibraltar. The events of this expedition were unimportant.

Captain Hardy returned to England with Sir Charles Wager, in the month of April, 1728; from which time, till the 6th of April, 1742, when he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, the only command that he is known to have had, was that of the *Royal Caroline* yacht. Just before his promotion, he was invested with the honour of knighthood. On the 7th of December, 1743, he was made a vice-admiral; and, on the 13th of the same month, he was appointed to be one of the commissioners of the Admiralty.

He was advanced from the blue to the red squadron; but he never attained a higher rank than that of vice-admiral, as he died at his house in the Admiralty, on the 27th of November, 1744; with the reputation of a truly honourable and worthy man.

We now proceed to the immediate subject of this memoir, Sir Charles Hardy, the son of Sir Charles, whose naval services we have just been tracing, and the grandson of Sir Thomas.

With the period of this gentleman's birth, we are unacquainted; but we understand that, on the 10th



of August, 1741, he was promoted to the rank of captain, in the *Rye*, of twenty or twenty-four guns, as the successor of Captain Lushington. In this ship he shortly afterwards sailed to Carolina, where he remained till the month of July, 1742; immediately subsequent to which period, he was employed in cruising off the coast of Georgia, on which colony the Spaniards had effected a formidable descent. Lieutenant Sutherland, of General Oglethorpe's regiment, in his official account of the proceedings at Georgia, under the date of July 22, says: "A few days afterwards, the men of war from Charlestown came off Simon's Bar; and Captain Thompson, with some volunteers from Carolina, one guard schooner, and two galleys, came into St. Simon's Harbour; and Captain Hardy, of the *Rye* man of war, receiving a message from the general by Lieutenant Maxwell, who went on board him, sent for answer—that he would take a cruise with the rest of the king's ships."

In 1744, Captain Hardy commanded the *Jersey*, of sixty guns; and, by commission bearing the date of June 9, in the same year, he was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the Island of Newfoundland, with the Port of Placentia, and all its dependencies. This command appears to have been of very short duration, as he returned to England at the conclusion of the year. On his passage home, some of the ships under his convoy were captured; a circumstance which was investigated by a court-martial, held on the 2d of February, 1745. He had the satisfaction of being honourably acquitted.

Continuing in the command of the *Jersey*, Captain Hardy, in the month of July following, had a very severe encounter, which lasted between two and three hours, with a French man of war, near the Straits' Mouth. The action is thus recorded in the gazette:

"His Britannic Majesty's ship, which fell in with the French man of war called the *St. Esprit*, of seventy-four guns, near the Straits' Mouth, was the

Jersey, of sixty guns, Captain Hardy. The engagement lasted from half an hour past six in the evening till nine, when the French man of war bore away on her return to Cadiz, to refit. We hear that the *St. Esprit* had lost her foremast, bowsprit, and twenty men, in the action."

In 1746 and 1747, Captain Hardy served in the Mediterranean, under Vice-admiral Medley; but whether he continued in the *Jersey* till the end of the war, is uncertain.

In July, 1749, shortly after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, he married a daughter of Bartholomew Tate, of Delapree, in the county of Northampton, Esq.

The next information respecting him is, that in 1755, the year before war was declared against France, he was appointed governor of New York. On the 12th of April, in the same year, believed to be about the time that he received the commission just mentioned, his Majesty was graciously pleased to confer on him the honour of knighthood.

On the 4th of June, 1756, whilst absent on his government, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue squadron; and, on the 6th of May, 1757, his rear-admiral's commission having been forwarded to him at New York, he hoisted his flag on board the *Nightingale*. He afterwards removed it into the *Sutherland*, of fifty guns; and, agreeably to orders, prepared to put to sea with all the ships of war which he could collect, as convoy to the fleet of victuallers and transports, which were intended to convoy Lord Loudon and his troops to Halifax, preparatory to the intended attack upon *St. Louisbourg*. Sir Charles was for some time kept in a state of uncertainty as to the arrival of Vice-admiral *Holbourne*, who was daily expected from England with a formidable fleet, and as to the situation and force of the enemy, at the proposed point of attack. At length two vessels, which had been dis-

patched to reconnoitre the neighbouring coast, returned, without having seen any thing of the enemy; in consequence of which, Sir Charles immediately put to sea from Sandy Hook, with a large squadron.

Sir Charles Hardy arrived safely at Halifax with his whole charge, comprising, the ships of war included, one hundred and one sail; and, on the 9th of July, he was joined by Vice-admiral Holbourne, who immediately took upon himself the chief command of the whole force, Sir Charles removing his flag into the *Invincible*, as second in command.

The season was now very far advanced; notwithstanding which, the preparations for the attack upon Louisbourg were carried on by the respective commanders. It was not, however, till the beginning of August, that the armament was ready to sail. On the 4th of that month, an express arrived from Captain Edwards, the governor of Newfoundland, with the information, that one of his cruisers had taken a vessel from St. Louisbourg, with dispatches; from which he had learnt, that the enemy's force in that harbour consisted of eighteen sail of the line, five large frigates, and about seven thousand regular forces on shore. In consequence of this intelligence, a council of war, composed of naval and military officers, was immediately held; and it was resolved, "that, considering the great strength of the enemy, and the advanced season of the year, it was expedient to postpone the attack upon Louisbourg; and that the troops should proceed to the different places where the public service required them." The troops were accordingly disembarked, and marched to winter quarters.

Some suspicions however arose, that the French vessel alluded to above, might have been thrown into the way of the Newfoundland cruisers, for the purpose of being captured, in order that her dispatches might impress the English with an exaggerated

notion of the French force at Louisbourg. Vice-admiral Holbourne, to satisfy himself upon this point, sailed from Halifax, on the 16th of August: on the 20th, being close in with the harbour of Louisbourg, he found that the enemy's force was fully equal to what it had been represented, and that they were making preparations to sail. At night he bore away for Halifax; where, on his arrival, on the 11th of September, he found Captain Geary with a reinforcement of four ships, of sixty and sixty-four guns, from England.

This addition of strength induced the commander-in-chief to put to sea again, and to cruise off Louisbourg, under the hope that, should the enemy come out, he might be able to attack them to great advantage. Unfortunately, on the evening of the 24th of September, the fleet being about twenty leagues to the southward of its station, the wind came on to blow hard from the east: in the night it veered round to the south, and blew a perfect hurricane, which continued until eleven the next day; and, had it not then suddenly shifted to the north, the whole fleet, in all probability, would have incurred utter destruction, as it was then close in with the rocks off Cape Breton. Even under this favourable circumstance, the injury and loss were very severe.

After the storm, Vice-admiral Holbourne collected his squadron together; and Sir Charles Hardy having resigned his government, returned to England with those ships which were the most disabled.

On the 7th of February, 1758, he was made rear-admiral of the white squadron; and, having hoisted his flag in the *Captain*, of sixty-eight guns, he was ordered again to New York, for the purpose of forwarding the necessary arrangements for a second attempt upon Louisbourg. He for some time cruised off that harbour, with the view of intercepting any supplies which the enemy might send out; but, notwithstanding his vigilance, the French, favoured by

thick fogs and tempestuous weather, got safe into Louisbourg, with a strong squadron of ships of war, under the command of M. De Chaffaut. Sir Charles, however, succeeded in taking the *Foudroyant*, of twenty-two guns, the ship which was annually sent from France to Quebec, with stores and ammunition for the garrison. Captain Boyle, in the *Boreas*, also captured the *Diana*, a French frigate of thirty-six guns.

Admiral Boscawen arrived at Halifax on the 9th of May, and assumed the command of the fleet; a list of which we have given in our memoir of that officer. On the 28th of the month, the admiral left Halifax for Louisbourg; off which he was joined by Sir Charles Hardy, on the 14th of June. Sir Charles, on this occasion, had his flag on board the *Royal William*, of eighty-four guns, as second in command. In the course of the ensuing night, he was blown off to sea by a violent gale of wind; but returned, without having experienced any disaster.

During the remainder of the siege, he was employed in blocking up the harbour, as well for the purpose of shutting in five ships of the line which were lying there, as for preventing the enemy from receiving any supplies. In this service he was extremely vigilant and active, and his success was commensurate with his activity; as, excepting the *Bien-faisant*, which afterwards fell into the hands of the English, all the ships of the line were destroyed. The *Apollo*, of fifty guns; the *Fidelle*, of thirty-six guns; the *Chevre* and the *Biche*, of sixteen guns each; were sunk at the entrance of the harbour: the *Echo*, of thirty-two guns, in attempting to get out, was captured by Sir Charles; so that, of the whole naval force which was in the harbour, at the period of the investiture, amounting to five ships of the line, one of fifty guns, four frigates, and two corvettes, the *Comette* and *Bizarre* frigates were all that got off. The latter, indeed, made her escape on the very day that

the troops were landed; consequently, before the siege could be said to be formed.

Louisbourg surrendered, by capitulation, on the 26th of July; after which, Sir Charles Hardy was detached, with seven sail of the line and three frigates, to convoy three battalions of land forces, and a detachment of artillery, under the command of Brigadier-general Wolfe, to Gaspè, for the purpose of destroying the French settlements in the gulf of St. Lawrence. Having accomplished this service, he rejoined Admiral Boscawen; and, in the month of October, both of the commanders returned to England.

In February 1759, Sir Charles Hardy was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue squadron. This year he served as second in command of the Channel fleet, under Sir Edward Hawke, and was slightly concerned in the memorable and glorious encounter with the French fleet under M. Conflans. A chaplain of one of the ships which were present, says: "Sir Charles Hardy, in the *Union*, with the *Mars*, *Hero*, and several other ships, were crowding to the admiral's assistance, when the retreat of the French, covered by the obscurity of the evening, put an end to the engagement."

In 1760, Sir Charles Hardy was employed upon the same station; his flag being the greater part of the year on board the *Mars*. However, the recent defeat of the French having effectually prevented them from putting to sea, nothing particular occurred to him; excepting that, in the middle of September, having sprung all his masts in a heavy gale of wind, he was under the necessity of coming into port. He put to sea again in the month of October; and, on joining the commander in chief in the Bay of Biscay, he shifted his flag into his old ship, the *Union*.

The year 1761, during which he remained upon the same station, was passed in a manner equally uninteresting as the preceding.

In 1762, he commanded, alternately with Sir Edward Hawke, the squadrons stationed off Brest, which relieved each other successively, for the purpose of watching the shattered remnant of the French naval force. "Indeed," as Charnock observes, "the history of Sir Charles is so closely implicated during this period with that of Sir Edward, his superior in command, that the history of the former might, in great measure, suffice for that of the latter, with a mere change of name."

On the 21st of October, 1762, he was made vice-admiral of the white; and, after the conclusion of the peace, in the succeeding year, he enjoyed a long relaxation from the fatigues of public service.

On the 3d of November, 1767, Sir Charles Hardy was one of the supporters of the canopy at the funeral of his royal highness the duke of York; on the 28th of October, 1770, he was promoted to the rank of admiral of the blue; on the death of Admiral Holbourne, in 1771, he was appointed master and governor of Greenwich Hospital; in 1774, he was elected member of parliament for the borough of Plymouth; on the 23d of January, 1778, he was made admiral of the white; and, on the 19th of March, 1779, on the resignation of Admiral Keppel, he was appointed commander in chief of the Channel fleet.

At the period here mentioned, the Channel fleet was formidable in numbers; but many of the ships were deficient in men, and in other respects very unfit for service. Some of our readers will recollect, that, in August 1779, whilst Sir Charles was thus circumstanced, the Spanish fleet from Cadiz, formed a junction with that of France, from Brest, and entered the Channel.

It was on the 15th of August, that the combined fleet having eluded the notice of Sir Charles Hardy, entered the Channel, and appeared before Plymouth. Some of the French frigates even anchored in Cawsand Bay, and took a few coasting vessels; and, on

the 16th, the *Ardent*, of sixty-four guns, mistaking the enemy's fleet for the British, was also captured. Sir Charles, who had been forced out of the Channel by strong easterly winds, entered it on the 31st; but, reflecting that the fate of his country was, in a great measure, supposed to be connected with that of the fleet under his command, he thought it expedient, considering the inferiority of his force, to act merely on the defensive; and the French and Spaniards, after traversing the Channel for a short period, without attempting any enterprise of note, returned to their own ports without any other advantage than that of not having been defeated.

At the latter end of the year, the Channel fleet returned into port, to refit. In the spring, Sir Charles Hardy was preparing to resume the command; but, unfortunately, an apoplectic fit suddenly carried him off at Portsmouth, on the 8th of May, 1780; and the country was thus deprived of a very active and able commander. He was buried a few days after, with the customary honours due to his rank; the whole fleet, during the procession, remaining with their colours half-staff up, and firing minute guns.

Of this respected and much regretted officer, Charnock thus briefly sums up the character:—"Brave, prudent, gallant, and enterprising, without the smallest ostentatious display of his noble qualities—generous, mild, affable, and intelligent—his virtues commanded the most profound respect, enabling him to pass through days, when the rage and prejudice of party blazed with a fury nearly unquenchable, without exciting envy or dislike, without even furnishing to the most captious man of party the smallest ground of reprehension or complaint."



## RICHARD KEMPENFELT, ESQ.

REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE SQUADRON.

RICHARD KEMPENFELT was the son of Colonel Kempenfelt, a native of Sweden, who obtained from Queen Anne a colonel's commission in the British army, and who died in the reign of George the First, when he was lieutenant-governor of the Island of Jersey. His son, who is the subject of this narrative, was born at Westminster, in October, 1718. He entered the navy as a midshipman at ten years old, and received his commission as lieutenant, on the 14th of January, 1741. In this rank he continued many years; during which, the circumstances of his professional life are not on record.

In 1756, he was made a master and commander; and on the 17th of January, 1757, he was appointed to the *Elizabeth*, of sixty-four guns, as captain to Commodore Steevens, who hoisted his broad pendant on board of that ship, on his getting the command of a small squadron destined to the East Indies. This squadron proceeded to its destination soon afterwards; and, in the month of April, 1758, Kempenfelt signaled himself in a very eminent degree, in the engagement which took place between the English squadron and that of the French under Count D'Aché, and he is mentioned in the commodore's official dispatch on the occasion, in terms of the highest commendation. A few weeks subsequent to this action, he was removed to the *Queenborough* frigate, for the purpose of convoying the *Revenge* Indiaman to Madras, having on board a large detachment of Colonel Draper's regiment, under the command of Major Monson, destined for the relief of that settlement, then besieged by the French.

He arrived at a critical period of the siege, when the enemy had opened a heavy fire from their third parallels, and had almost silenced the English batteries. Observing the situation of the garrison, he immediately landed the troops with the greatest celerity, but in the most perfect order, without the loss of a single man: and thus, by this timely reinforcement, the relative situation of the contending parties was so much changed, that Count Lally, the French commander, raised the siege, and retired to Pondicherry.

Shortly after this affair, Commodore Steevens shifted his flag to the *Grafton*, of sixty-four guns, on being promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and Kempfenfelt accompanied him to that ship as his captain; in which station he served in the last action that took place in the Indian seas during that war, between the French and English fleets, and in which he displayed great professional knowledge, ability, and spirit. On the return of Admiral Pocock to England, the chief command of the fleet devolved on Admiral Steevens, who thereupon shifted his flag to the *Norfolk*, of seventy-four guns, to which ship Kempfenfelt was also removed, and in which he continued till the death of that brave officer, when he was appointed captain to his successor, Admiral Cornish.

Some months after he received this last appointment, the fleet sailed on the well-known expedition against Manilla. On this occasion he was chosen to conduct the landing of the troops; which important service he executed with admirable skill, resolution, and dispatch, and thereby paved the way for the subsequent success with which the British arms were crowned. After the reduction of Manilla, he was sent with a line of battle ship and two frigates, to take possession of Port Cavite, a place which had been included in the capitulation; and he was, at the same time appointed by Sir William Draper, the commander-in-chief of the land forces, to act as governor

of that place, which appointment was conveyed to him in the following terms:—

“ As a small acknowledgment of the great services which the whole army has received from Captain Kempenfelt, the admiral’s captain, I beg he will act at Cavite, as governor for his Majesty, being assured that no one can discharge that trust with more conduct and abilities.

“ WILLIAM DRAPER.”

He held this appointment, however, but for a short time, being sent to England by Admiral Cornish, as the bearer of his dispatches, in which he recommends him to the Admiralty, in strong terms of appropriate praise.

In 1762, Kempenfelt returned to India, and resumed his station as captain of the Norfolk, but in which he did not long continue. In consequence of the peace in 1763, the fleet on the India station was ordered to England, and was on its arrival paid off. Nevertheless, Kempenfelt continued to apply to his professional pursuits with unremitting ardour and diligence. During the peace he generally spent a part of the year in France, with a view to make himself acquainted with the principles and practice of ship-building, in both of which the French are allowed to excel, and of which he thereby acquired a complete and accurate knowledge.

Upon the rupture with Spain, about the Falkland Islands, in the year 1770, he was appointed to the Buckingham, of seventy guns. But when the dispute was compromised, he was again put on half-pay, and was not afterwards employed till the commencement of the war with France, in the year 1778, when he got the command of the Alexander, a new third rate of seventy-four guns. In the year following he was removed to the Victory, with the appointment of captain of the fleet under Admiral Sir Charles Hardy.

On the 26th of September, 1779, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; but continued, notwithstanding, to serve as captain of the fleet, on account of his abilities and qualifications for that important station. His skill in naval tactics was then only equalled by that of Hawke, and one or two other distinguished officers; and in the arrangement and management of signals, so essential a branch of naval knowledge, he surpassed every officer in the British navy. In this part of his profession he has left a lasting memorial of his talents, in his code of numerical signals, the invention of which evinces much ingenuity. Lord Hawke, in some of his private letters which have been preserved, talks of the nautical abilities of Kempenfelt in the highest terms.

After the resignation of Sir Charles Hardy, he continued as captain of the fleet, under Admiral Geary and Rear-admiral Darby, until the year 1781, when he was appointed to the command of a squadron of twelve sail of the line, one of fifty guns, four frigates, and one fire-ship. With this force he put to sea, with his flag on board the *Victory*, for the purpose of intercepting a French fleet of superior force, under the command of M. Le Comte De Guichin, with his flag on board *La Bretagne*, that had just sailed from Brest, for the West Indies, with a view of forming a junction with Count De Grasse. He fell in with the enemy early on the 12th of December, but was filled with disappointment when he found their numbers so much exceed what he was led to expect, and their weight of metal so greatly superior to that of his own fleet. The French fleet consisted of nineteen sail of the line, many of which were first and second rates, besides two sixty-four gun ships, armed *en flute*, and several frigates. With a force so much beyond his own, he could not in prudence hazard a general action; but having the weather-gage, he determined to sail along with the

enemy, in line of battle a-breast, and to watch a fit opportunity of bearing down upon their rear, and cutting off their convoy. In the course of a few hours the van and centre of the French fleet had shot considerably a-head of the rear, and the convoy under the protection of four or five frigates, had fallen greatly to leeward. Upon observing this, Kempenfelt instantly bore up in line of battle a-head, and engaged the rear of the enemy with his van; the rest of the fleet passed to leeward, and effectually cut off and captured the whole of the convoy, amounting to fifteen sail, and sunk four of the frigates that had rashly endeavoured to protect them. This manœuvre having brought his fleet above half a league to leeward of the enemy, and the wind blowing directly fair for the coast of England, he formed his fleet, by signal, into two divisions, the first of which took the captured vessels in tow, and the other kept up a running fight with the French fleet; and in this order, shaping his course for Plymouth, under a great press of sail, he carried the whole of his prizes into that port, in the face of the enemy, and in spite of their utmost endeavours to prevent him. This capture was no less valuable in itself, than important in its consequences; for the convoy was laden with naval and military stores, and had on board between nine hundred and a thousand troops, destined to reinforce the garrison in the French West India Islands.

Kempenfelt returned with his squadron to Spithead, on the 20th of December; and continued in the command of this fleet till after the change of the ministry in the spring of 1782. He was then removed into the Royal George, in which he put to sea, as second in command to Admiral Barrington, in a small fleet, with which he was sent to cruise off Brest, in order to intercept a French squadron then about to sail from that port for the East Indies. With this squadron they had the good fortune to fall in,

a few days subsequent to their arrival off the coast of France, and after a chase of some hours, and a short resistance on the part of the enemy, they captured two line of battle ships and eleven transports.

On Kempenfelt's return from this cruise, he was immediately dispatched with the *Royal George*, to join the Channel fleet, under Lord Howe, then cruising off the Isle of Ushant. In a few days after he had joined, the fleet fell in with that of France, which in the number both of line of battle ships and frigates, had greatly the advantage of the English. No action took place; but Kempenfelt had an opportunity of displaying his great skill in naval manœuvres, in covering the retreat of some ships which had fallen out of their stations, and were in extreme danger of being cut off by the van of the enemy.

His ship now proving very leaky, he was ordered to Spithead to get her repaired; and, with a view to get that done expeditiously, it was directed that the *Royal George* should be careened, and have her seams caulked as she lay at anchor, without going into harbour. This was a hazardous expedient, and the dreadful accident which happened, affords a fatal proof that the proper precautions for security had not been taken. On the 29th of August, at six in the morning, the weather being fine, and the wind moderate, it was thought a favourable opportunity to heel the ship, and orders for that purpose were accordingly given. By ten o'clock she was heeled sufficiently to enable the workmen to get to the part that leaked; but, in order to repair it as effectually as possible, the ship was heeled another streak, or about two feet more. After this was done, the ship's crew were allowed to go to dinner, but the carpenters and caulkers continued at their work, and had almost finished it, when a sudden squall took the ship on the raised side, and the lower-deck ports to leeward having been unaccountably left open, the water rushed in: in less

than eight minutes the ship filled, and sunk so rapidly, that the officers in their confusion made no signal of distress: nor, indeed, if they had, could any assistance have availed, for, after her lower ports were in the water, no power nor any exertion could have prevented her from going to the bottom. When the Royal George went down, there were upwards of one thousand two hundred persons on board, including three hundred women.

The watch on deck, to the number of two hundred and upwards, were saved by going out on the top-sail yards, which remained above water after the ship reached the bottom. About seventy more were picked up by the boats from the other ships at Spit-head. Among these were four lieutenants and eleven women. Admiral Kempenfelt, the rest of the officers, and nine hundred people were drowned. The masts of the Royal George remained standing for a considerable time afterwards; and, until she was covered with sand, parts of the hull were visible at low water. Repeated attempts were made to weigh her, but in vain.

Thus prematurely perished this experienced officer, whose knowledge, abilities, and bravery, did so much honour to the British navy, and promised to contribute largely to its improvement and its glory.

In the beginning of 1783, a monument was erected in the church yard of Portsea, to the memory of Rear-admiral Kempenfelt, and his fellow sufferers. It is lofty, and of a pyramidal form, ornamented with marine trophies, arms, urns, &c. in an oval compartment, upon the upper part of the pyramid, in black marble and gold letters, is this inscription:

“Reader, with solemn thought survey this grave, and reflect on the untimely death of thy fellow mortals; and whilst, as a man, a Briton, and a patriot, thou read’st the melancholy narrative, drop a tear for thy country’s loss.”

Underneath is the following inscription:

“ On the 29th day of August, 1782, his Majesty’s ship the Royal George, being on the heel at Spithead, overset and sunk, by which fatal accident, about nine hundred persons were instantly launched into eternity, among whom was that brave and experienced officer Rear-admiral Kempenfelt. Nine days after, many bodies of the unfortunate floated, thirty-five of whom were interred in one grave, near this monument, which is erected by the parish of Portsea, as a grateful tribute to the memory of that great commander, and his fellow sufferers.”

Upon a pedestal in gold letters is this epitaph:

’Tis not this stone, regretted Chief, thy name,  
Thy worth, and merits, shall extend thy fame.  
Brilliant achievements have thy name imprint  
In lasting characters on Albion’s breast.

The character of this officer greatly resembled that of his father, to which we have alluded, p. 54, as drawn by Addison,\* under the name of CAPTAIN SENTRY: “ A gentleman of great courage, good understanding, but invincible modesty. He is one of those who deserve very well, but are very awkward at putting their talents within the observation of such as should take notice of them. I have heard him often lament, that in a profession where merit is placed in so conspicuous a view, impudence should get the better of modesty: when he has talked to this purpose, I never heard him make a sour expression. A strict honesty, and an even regular behaviour, are in themselves obstacles to him, that must press through crowds, who endeavour at the same end with himself, the favour of a commander. For, says he, that great man who has a mind to help me, has as many to break through to come at me, as I have to come at him: therefore, he will conclude, that the man who would make a figure, must get over all false modesty, and assist his patron against the im-

\* Spectator, No. 2.



portunity of other pretenders, by a proper assurance in his own vindication. He says, it is a civil cowardice to be backward in asserting what you ought to expect. With this candour does this gentleman speak of himself, and others. The same frankness runs through all his conversation. His life has furnished him with many adventures, in the relation of which he is very agreeable : for he is never overbearing, though accustomed to command men in the utmost degree below him ; nor ever too obsequious, from a habit of obeying men highly above him."

## SIR PIERCEY BRETT.

THE first account we have of this gentleman is, his having served as a midshipman in the Gloucester, of fifty guns, one of the squadron ordered into the South Seas under Mr. Anson. On the promotion of Mr. Cheap to be captain of the Wager storeship, Mr. Brett was appointed by the commodore into his own ship, the Centurion, to be his second lieutenant. He appears to have soon conceived an extraordinary attachment to this worthy gentleman, insomuch that he confided to him the attack on the town of Paita, a service which he executed with the greatest skill, promptitude, and exactness. After the capture of the Manilla galleon, and the arrival of the Centurion at Macao, Mr. Brett was promoted to command that ship under him as captain, he being, as he supposed, authorized by his instructions to issue such a commission. This point was, nevertheless, strongly contested on the arrival of the Centurion in England, and the lords of the Admiralty refused to confirm Mr. Brett's rank, insomuch that Mr. Anson retired, for a short time, from the service in disgust ; nor did he return till a subsequent change in the members of the board last mentioned, and a compliance

in the first lord and his colleagues who succeeded, in the demands of Mr. Anson, together with the allowance of Mr. Brett's rank, according to the date of his first commission, restored perfect peace and harmony on all sides.

Mr. Brett therefore ranks as a captain in the navy from the 30th of September, 1743, being the date of his commission to the *Centurion*, then lying in Macao river. Not long after the matter was adjusted, that is to say, about the month of April, 1745, he was appointed captain of the *Lion*, of sixty guns, a ship stationed to cruise in the Channel. His first success was the capture of a privateer, mounting ten carriage and seven swivel guns, with a crew of one hundred and fifteen men, which had long infested the Channel, and had lately captured the *Mediator* sloop of war. This first success, which he met with on the 29th of June, 1745, when on his passage from Portsmouth to Plymouth, appeared but as the prelude to that high renown he gained on the 9th of the ensuing month, in an encounter with a French ship of the line; the particulars are officially related in the following manner:

“On Tuesday the 9th of this month, his Majesty's ship the *Lion*, of fifty-eight guns, being in the latitude of 47 deg. 57 min. north, and west from the meridian of the Lizard thirty-nine leagues, Captain Brett, her commander, saw two sail to leeward, to which he immediately bore down, and by three in the afternoon found them to be two of the enemy's ships. By four o'clock he was within two miles of them: they then hoisted French colours, and shortened sail. One of them was a man of war of sixty-four guns; and the other a ship of sixteen guns. At five the *Lion* ran along-side the large ship, and began to engage within pistol-shot. The ships continued in that situation until ten, during which time they kept a continual fire at each other; when the *Lion*'s rigging being cut to pieces, her mizen-mast, mizen top-mast,

main-yard, fore-topsail-yard, and main-topsail-yard shot away; all her lower masts and top-masts shot through in many places, so that she lay muzzled in the sea, and could do nothing with her sails: the French ship sheered off, and in less than an hour was out of sight, the *Lion* not being able to follow her. The small ship, in the beginning of the engagement, made two attempts to rake the *Lion*, but was soon beat off by her stern chase, and after that lay off at a great distance. Forty-five of the *Lion's* men were killed outright, and one hundred and seven wounded, seven of whom died of their wounds soon after."

Captain Brett was wounded, and much bruised in the arm; and his master had his right arm shot off in the beginning of the engagement. His lieutenants were all wounded two hours before the action was over; nevertheless they would not leave the deck, but continued encouraging the men to the last, excepting the first lieutenant, who was so much hurt that he was obliged to be carried off.

The bravery manifested by this gentleman on the foregoing occasion was rendered of more importance to his country, from the circumstance of the ship which he had engaged being convoy to the frigate in which the son of the Pretender, then on his passage to Scotland, had embarked. Some judgment may be formed of the service rendered to Britain, by the foregoing encounter, from the following extract of a private letter from the Hague, dated July the 30th.

"The frigate, on board which the eldest son of the Pretender had embarked, was joined off Belleisle by the *Elizabeth* of sixty-six guns. They intended to go round Ireland, and land in Scotland, but were met on the 20th by some English merchant ships, convoyed by three ships of war; one of which, the *Lion*, bore down on the *Elizabeth*, and attacked her, upon which the Pretender sailed away in the frigate. The fight lasted nine hours, but night coming on, the

Elizabeth, quite disabled, got away to Brest; the captain and sixty-four men were killed, one hundred and thirty-six dangerously wounded, and a great number slightly. She had on board 400,000*l.* sterling, and arms for several thousand men."

The force of the blow given, in this instance, to the embryo of rebellion, may be easily admitted. The blood of thousands was, not improbably, saved by the foregoing event; and humanity must ever rejoice more at the prevention, than the cure of an evil. In the year 1747, he commanded the *Yarmouth*, of sixty-four guns, one of the squadron, under Mr. Anson, which, in the month of May, defeated and captured that of France, commanded by Monsieur De la Jonquiere. He was one of the captains sent, after the conclusion of the action, in pursuit of the convoy, of which two only were captured, the *Vigilante* and the *Modeste*, of twenty-two guns each, the rest of the ships having, it was said, made their escape. We find, however, it is asserted peremptorily in the periodical publications of the time, that five more French ships were brought into Portsmouth, and three into Plymouth.

On the 3d of January, 1753, he received the honour of knighthood from his Majesty, in consequence of his having carried him to Holland, instead of Sir C. Molloy; and towards the end of the year was appointed captain of the *Caroline* yacht, as successor to that gentleman. In this vessel he probably continued till the month of September, 1755, when, on the daily expectation of a rupture with France, Sir Piercey was appointed to the *Cambridge*. In the month of November or December, 1756, he removed back into the *Caroline* yacht. How long he continued in that vessel is not known, but, in the beginning of the year 1758, we find him commodore in the Downs, having his pendant on board the *Norfolk*. He was in the same year appointed first captain to Lord Anson, in the *Royal George*,

who commanded in the Channel the covering fleet to the squadron employed under Lord Howe, on the coast of France. On the 22d of March, 1760, he was appointed colonel of the Portsmouth division of marines. In 1761, still continuing to hold the Downs command, we find him frequently and actively employed in reconnoitring the opposite coast and ports of France. Towards the conclusion of the year he returned to Portsmouth to refit; which being completed, he re-boisted his pendant on board the *Newark*, at Portsmouth, on the 15th of December. He was immediately afterwards ordered for the Mediterranean, with seven ships of war, as second in command to Sir C. Saunders, and had soon afterwards the good fortune to share in the rich Spanish prize, the *Hermione*. He remained on the same station during the continuance of the war, but peace soon afterwards taking place, nothing in any degree memorable seems to have occurred, except that, in the course of this year, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the red. From this time he never appears to have accepted any command; but, on the 13th of December, 1766, was appointed one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral, an office which he continued to hold till February, 1770.

On the 24th of October, 1770, he was promoted to be vice-admiral of the blue; and on the 28th of the same month to be vice-admiral of the white; as he was, on the 31st of March, 1775, to be vice-admiral of the red. On the 29th of January, 1778, he was advanced to be admiral of the blue. He died in the month of May, 1781, and was buried at Beckenham, in the county of Kent.

## AUGUSTUS LORD VISC. KEPPEL.

ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE.

LORD KEPPEL was the second son of William Anne, second earl of Albemarle, by Lady Anne Lenox, daughter of Charles Lenox, first duke of Richmond. He was born April the 2d, 1725. At the age of thirteen he was placed under the care of Lord Anson, whom he accompanied in his expedition to the South Seas, and he soon distinguished himself by a sedulous attention to his professional studies, and a zealous and chearful activity in the execution of his duty. He became the favourite of his commander, who, in the course of the voyage, never allowed any opportunity to escape, of placing him in situations that afforded scope for the exercise of his growing knowledge of nautical affairs. In all the operations of the squadron against the Spanish settlements on the coasts of Chili and Peru, and during the great mortality that prevailed in the different ships while they remained at Valparaiso, he acquitted himself in a manner correspondent to the expectations that were naturally formed of him, from the ardour and diligence with which he applied himself to every part of his profession. At the attack of Paita, he belonged to the storming party, under the command of Lieutenant Brett, and in this service had a narrow escape, a shot having carried off the peak of a jockey's cap, which he had on, close to his temple. In the capture of the Spanish galleon, which the squadron fell in with soon after this enterprise, Keppel behaved with such spirit, as induced Commodore Anson to advance him to the rank of lieutenant.

On the return of the squadron to England in 1744, he was immediately promoted to the command of a

sloop of war; in which, however, he did not long continue, being made post captain, and appointed to the Sapphire frigate, in the month of December of the same year. With this frigate he was employed in the cruising service, in which he appears to have been very vigilant, active, and successful. On the 15th of April, 1745, he captured a large French West Indiaman, from Martinico bound to Rochfort, with a valuable cargo of sugar, coffee, and cotton. On the 20th of May following, he fell in with a Spanish privateer between Cape Clear and the Old Head of Kinsale. This vessel was of inconsiderable force, but being a fast sailer, she tried every manœuvre to effect an escape, and it was not till after a chase of several hours that Keppel came up with and captured her.

In 1746, he got the command of the Maidstone, of fifty guns, a ship employed in the same line of service, but being less calculated for it than a frigate, he only made one capture in the course of this year. And in July, 1747, as he was giving chase to a privateer on the coast of France, near Nantz, being eager in the pursuit, his ship struck on a rock, and was lost; but by his skill and exertions, he saved himself and every one of his crew. On his landing at Nantz, he was treated with great hospitality and politeness. In a few weeks he was permitted to return to England. The court-martial usual on such occasions was held upon him, and he was honourably acquitted of all blame in the loss he had sustained. After this misfortune he was appointed to the command of the Anson, a new ship, of sixty-four guns; and towards the end of the year was chosen one of the members of a court-martial assembled at Portsmouth for the trial of Captain Fox.

After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1749, Keppel was employed on a service in which all the characteristic qualities of his mind were, for the first time, eminently called forth. He was dispatched to Al-

giers in the command of a small squadron, for the purpose of demanding satisfaction of the government of that place, for a flagrant act of piracy committed by an Algerine cruiser on a British vessel, in plundering the Prince Frederick packet-boat, of a considerable quantity of treasure; and he was at the same time instructed to insist on the restitution of that treasure. The honour of the British flag, and the protection of British commerce, which on the one hand were to be asserted and maintained, and the peculiar character of the Algerines, and the inutility of using force against them, to which on the other it was essential to attend, rendered a great degree of discretion and firmness necessary, in the performance of this service. Keppel arrived at Algiers on the 24th of June, 1750, and immediately opened his negotiation with the Dey, in conjunction with the British consul, which, after much trouble, he brought to an amicable conclusion, by a happy combination of patient perseverance, prudent spirit, inflexible resolution, and conciliating address.

In the beginning of November, 1750, he returned to Port Mahon, from whence he dispatched a sloop to England with the treaty of peace, which he had concluded with the Dey of Algiers. In the April following he received the ratification of this treaty, and again repaired to Algiers, in order to exchange it. In the mean while, however, another act of piracy committed by an Algerine corsair, made it necessary to demand farther satisfaction before the treaty could be carried into effect. Keppel remonstrated against this second robbery in very strong and decisive terms, to which the Dey with great submission replied:—“That certainly one of his officers had been guilty of a very great fault, which tended to embroil him with his principal and best friends, wherefore that officer should never more serve him either by sea or land.” And he farther said, “That he hoped the king of



England would look on it as the action of a fool or a madman; that he would take care nothing again should happen of the like nature; and concluded by desiring that they might be better friends than ever." This declaration was transmitted to England, and published by the Admiralty on the 22d of May, 1751. In the ensuing summer he concluded a similar treaty with the States of Tripoli and Tunis, which in the beginning of the succeeding year was announced in the London Gazette. After the final adjustment of these matters, he continued another year in the Mediterranean, and in August, 1753, returned to England with his whole squadron.

In September, 1754, he was appointed commodore of a squadron destined to convoy a body of troops to North America, under the command of General Braddock, for the purpose of checking the encroachments of the Indian tribes, who, at the instigation of the French, were at that period continually making predatory inroads in the back settlements of Virginia. After landing the troops at James Town, Keppel co-operated with the army, and exerted his utmost efforts to secure success to the expedition; and its ultimate failure is not to be ascribed to any misconduct in the naval department. Of this the following extract of a letter from General Braddock to the secretary of state, bears ample and honourable testimony:—

“I think myself very happy in being associated with an officer of Mr. Keppel's abilities and good disposition, which appear by his readiness to enter into every measure that may be conducive to the success of this undertaking. As but four pieces of twelve pounds were given me with the train, and a greater number appeared necessary, I applied to him to have four more from his ships, which he granted me, together with many other things I stood in need of.”

After the defeat of General Braddock, Keppel returned to England on board the *Sea-horse*. On his

arrival, the dispute with France respecting the assistance given to the American Indians had come to a crisis, that left no honourable alternative on the part of England but open hostility. Orders were consequently sent to the different dock-yards to use the most unremitting vigour in equipping the line of battle ships for active service; and in a short time the roads of Spithead and Plymouth Sound were covered with our fleets. Keppel was first appointed to the *Swiftsure*, but was afterwards removed to the *Torbay*, with which he was sent in the command of a squadron of observation to the Mediterranean. He had not, however, proceeded far in his passage thither, when an epidemic complaint that prevailed in his squadron, obliged him to put back to Plymouth. On his return, he was directed to proceed to Spithead, to take the command of another small squadron, then lying at that place, under orders to cruise in the English Channel. With this squadron he made several cruises, in which, however, nothing material occurred.

He was this year chosen representative in parliament for the city of Chichester, as successor to his brother, who, by the death of his father, had become earl of Albemarle. At the next general election he was returned for Windsor, which place he continued to represent till 1780, when he was returned for the county of Surry.

In the autumn of 1756, he was employed as a member of the interesting court-martial held at Portsmouth on the unfortunate *Byng*, in which capacity he shewed considerable discernment, and great knowledge of nautical affairs. That court, as we have seen, found the prisoner guilty of neglect of duty, but as there was no reason for supposing that neglect to be wilful, and as he was expressly acquitted of cowardice and disaffection, he was strongly recommended to the mercy of the crown. This recommendation, however, the Admiralty suppressed; and the proceedings

and the sentence of the court were transmitted to his Majesty without it. Keppel, filled with indignation at such conduct, rose in his place in the House of Commons, and made a spirited remonstrance against it; and in behalf of himself and several other members of the court-martial, prayed for the interference of parliament to release them from their oath of secrecy, that they might thereby be enabled to disclose the grounds on which the sentence of death had been passed on Admiral Byng. In consequence of this, the minister thought it necessary to bring a message from his Majesty to the house, importing, "that although he had determined to let the law take its course in regard to Admiral Byng, yet, as a member of the house had expressed some scruples about the sentence, his Majesty thought fit to respite the execution of it that there might be an opportunity of knowing by the separate examination of the members of the court-martial upon oath, what grounds there were for such scruples; and that his Majesty was resolved still to let the sentence be carried into execution, unless it should appear from the said examination, that Admiral Byng was unjustly condemned." The message being communicated to the house, a bill was immediately brought in to release the members of the court from the obligation of secrecy. This bill passed the commons without the smallest opposition; but the lords entered into a particular scrutiny of its merits; and after a strict examination of all the members of the court-martial, it was almost unanimously rejected.

In the ensuing year, Mr. Keppel served under Sir Edward Hawke, on the successful expedition against Rochfort. During the summer of 1758, he occasionally commanded a small squadron of observation in the English Channel, a service in which he made several valuable prizes.

Towards the conclusion of this year, he was appointed commander in chief of the expedition sent

against the French settlement of Goree, on the coast of Africa, and on the 19th of October, he hoisted his broad pendant in the Torbay. He left the Cove of Cork on the 11th of November, and, in the early part of his voyage, met with very boisterous weather, by which he had the misfortune to lose two ships of his squadron. The Litchfield, of sixty guns, and the Somerset transport, were wrecked on the 29th of November on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy; and this disaster was the more calamitous from the impossibility of saving the crews of these ships, part of whom perished, and those that reached the shore met with a severer destiny, in being made prisoners by the Moors. Keppel, with the remainder of his force, came to an anchor off the island of Goree, on the 24th of December, about three o'clock in the afternoon. The next morning he commenced his operations, the account of which will be conveyed to our readers with a more lively interest in his own words,\* than by any detail which we can give.

\* The following is a copy of Mr. Keppel's official letter to the secretary of state :

SIR,

I arrived here with the squadron under my command on the 28th of December last, in the evening. The next morning, agreeably to his Majesty's instructions, I attacked, with the ships, the fort and batteries on the island of Goree, which were soon reduced to desire permission to capitulate. The Governor's demands were, to be allowed to march the French troops out of the garrison with the honours of war. His terms I absolutely rejected, and began a fresh attack; it was, however, but of very short duration, when the forts, garrison, &c. surrendered at discretion to his Majesty's squadron.

Lieutenant-colonel Worge had his troops embarked in the flat-bottomed boats, in good order and readiness, at a proper distance, with the transports, to attempt a descent when it should be found practicable or requisite.

Two days after the surrender of the island, I ordered it to be delivered up, with the cannon, artillery, stores, and provisions, &c. found in it, to the officer and troops Lieutenant-colonel Worge thought fit to garrison the place with; and the colonel is taking

Having left a sufficient garrison to secure his acquisition, he embarked his prisoners on board the squadron, and repaired to Senegal, in order to make some necessary arrangements at that place, which, having accomplished, he returned to England. During the remainder of this year, he commanded the *Torbay*, one of the line of battle in the Channel Fleet, under Sir Edward Hawke; and the famous victory gained by that fleet off Belleisle, Keppel, by a stroke of skilful seamanship and dexterous heroism, gloriously contributed to achieve. In the heat of the action, after having silenced one of the enemy's line of battle ships, he suddenly wore his own ship round, and engaged the *Thesée*, of seventy-four guns, yard-arm to yard-arm, with such impetuous fury, that he sunk her in half an hour, and the greatest part of her crew perished.

After this victory he continued, for some time, on the home station, in the command of a flying squadron, with the view of watching the motions of the remainder of the French fleet. In the beginning of the following year he was removed from the *Torbay* to the *Valiant*, a new ship, of seventy-four guns, in which he again served under Sir Edward Hawke, in

all imaginable pains to settle and regulate the garrison in the best manner, and as fast as circumstances will admit of.

The inclosed, Sir, is the state of the island, with the artillery, ammunition, and provisions, found in the place at the time of its surrender.

French, made prisoners of war, three hundred.

Blacks, in arms, a great number; but I am not well enough informed, as yet, to say precisely.

The loss the enemy sustained, as to men, is so very differently stated to me, by those that have been asked, that I must defer saying the number till another opportunity.

Iron ordnance, of different bores, ninety-three; one brass twelve-pounder; iron swivels, mounted on carriages, eleven; brass mortars, mounted on beds, two of thirteen inches; ditto, one of ten inches; iron, one of ten inches.

In the magazine.—Powder, one hundred barrels; provisions, of all species, for four hundred men, for four months.

Quiberon Bay. In the month of February 1760, he was appointed colonel of the Plymouth division of marines, and shortly afterwards received the command of a squadron, consisting of ten sail of the line, and several frigates and transports, with a body of troops under General Hodgson, destined to make a descent on the coast of France. The death of his late Majesty, GEORGE the Second, occasioned a suspension of this expedition, which, however, was renewed in the ensuing spring, and sent against the island of Belleisle. Keppel sailed from Spithead on the 29th of March, 1761. The commencement of the undertaking bore an unfavourable appearance. On the 8th of April, an attempt was made to land a body of troops at Lomoria Bay, which the natural strength of the place, and the superior force of the enemy, rendered ineffectual, and the assailants were repulsed with some loss. This check, together with a severe gale of wind which immediately succeeded it, threw the fleet into disorder, and, for a while, disconcerted the enterprize, as appears from the following paragraph of Keppel's official dispatch on the occasion:—“While the repair and the adjustment of these defeats are in hand, I hope some spot may be agreed upon where we may be more successful in the attempt than we were on the 8th; but, if not so, I hope his Majesty will believe I have nothing more at heart than the exertion of the force entrusted to me, in a manner most conducive to the honour of his arms.” In the next attempt, however, they were more fortunate.

This success paved the way to the reduction of the island. The whole of the forces was now landed, and the cannon, with great difficulty, were dragged up the rocks, and for two leagues along a rugged and broken road. The siege was then commenced with the utmost vigour; and, though the garrison, commanded by the Chevalier de St. Croix, at first threatened an obstinate resistance, yet the lines that

covered the town being carried by a furious attack, the enemy abandoned the town, and retired to the citadel, and on the 7th of June, they capitulated, and marched out with the honours of war.

Keppel remained at Belleisle with his fleet for some time after the capitulation, with a view not only to protect the island against any attempt to retake it, but to block up a squadron of the enemy's, consisting of eight ships of the line and four frigates. He was, however, driven from his station on the 12th of January, by a violent storm, in which many of his ships suffered so much, that he was under the necessity of returning to England to refit them. When he arrived at Plymouth, his own ship had five feet water in her hold. Four ships only came into port along with her, the rest of the fleet having separated in the gale.

Immediately after his arrival, he was chosen to command a division of the fleet under Sir George Pocock, then equipping for the expedition against the Havannah: an appointment the more gratifying to him, as his brother, the earl of Albemarle, was to command the land forces. The fleet sailed from Spithead on the 5th of March, and arrived off the Havannah on the 6th of June. The admiral lay to about five leagues to the eastward of the harbour, where he issued orders for landing the troops, a little to the eastward of its entrance. Keppel, with six ships of the line and some frigates, was appointed to cover the descent, while the admiral, with the remainder of the line of battle ships and frigates, dropped down off the harbour to the westward, and the next morning made a feint to land there, with a view to divert the attention of the enemy, and thereby facilitate the actual debarkation. The event proved the judiciousness and ability of the plan; for the earl of Albemarle landed with his whole army without opposition, about six miles to the eastward of the Moro fort.

After a brave and obstinate defence, the Spanish garrison capitulated on the 14th of August. Respecting that part of the naval operations which was entrusted to Commodore Keppel, Sir George Pocock in his public dispatch, speaks in the following terms: —“ I am glad on this occasion to do justice to the distinguished merit of Commodore Keppel, who executed the service under his direction, on the Coxemar side, with the greatest spirit, activity, and diligence.”

He continued at the Havannah for a few weeks after its surrender; and in one or two cruises which he made from thence along the coasts of Cuba, he had the good fortune to capture some valuable prizes. In September he sailed for Jamaica, and in his passage thither fell in with a fleet of twenty-five sail of French merchantmen, richly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo, and bound from Cape François for Europe. He captured the whole fleet, together with its convoy, and carried them into Port Royal.

On the 21st of October 1762, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, the promotion of flag-officers being extended beyond the usual number in order to include him.

On his return to England he was appointed one of the grooms of the bed chamber to his Majesty; an appointment which he held till 1766. After the peace in 1763, he received still higher honours, being appointed one of the commissioners of the Admiralty board, a station in which he continued till 1766. About this time he got the command of the yachts and vessels that convoyed the Queen of Denmark to Hollaud.

On the 18th of October 1770, he was promoted to the red flag, and on the 24th of the same month he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue. About this period he was appointed to command a squadron, which was equipped in consequence of the apprehended rupture with Spain in regard to the



Falkland Islands ; but that dispute being compromised before he hoisted his flag, the appointment dropped of course. His professional services were not again called for until 1778, by which time he had risen in regular succession to the rank of admiral of the blue.

We are now arrived at that period of his life, when by a rare concurrence of various and peculiar circumstances, and by a singular turn of fortune, his great character in the navy, and the distinguished place he held in the estimation of his country, were heightened and confirmed, through the malice of his enemies, who were just numerous enough to show the envy which he excited, and without which his glory would not have been complete. At a very momentous crisis, and in a very perilous state of public affairs, he was called upon by his Sovereign, in a manner that marked the high opinion he entertained of him, to a command of the greatest national trust. His conduct in that command became the subject of public controversy, and gave rise to much animosity and violence between political parties, not only in parliament, but in the navy, and throughout the whole country. During the heat and agitation of these disputes, it was not possible that the real truth of the matter in question could be ascertained, as the facts which led to it, were related either by one party or the other, and consequently were either coloured by the prejudices of friendship, or perverted by the malevolence of enmity. Fortunately for the fame of Keppel, as well as for the satisfaction of posterity, his enemies, at last, called for a judicial investigation, the proceedings and result of which furnished the world with a body of evidence on the subject, delivered upon oath by men of the highest honour, and the first nautical abilities, which, now that all the party feuds it gave birth to are subsided, must be universally admitted as decisive. In what follows we shall strictly confine ourselves to a brief

relation of the facts which that evidence has established.

Towards the latter end of March 1778, the court of France, by the public reception of the American deputies, and at the same time by the seizure of all the British vessels found in any of the French ports, made an open avowal of the long meditated hostility against England. Orders were consequently issued for making reprisals, and a fleet of twenty sail of the line was fitted out with great expedition at Portsmouth, the command of which was given to Admiral Keppel. He arrived there to take upon him the command in a few days after he received his appointment; but instead of finding a well appointed fleet, as he was taught to expect, and as was essential to the success of the service for which it was destined, he discovered, as we have already seen, that there were only six sail of the line fit for immediate service, the rest of the fleet being greatly deficient both in men and in all kinds of naval stores, but in a short time, a new spirit seemed to animate the naval department, and by the middle of June he was able to proceed to sea with twenty sail of the line and several frigates.

Thus appointed, Keppel sailed from St. Helen's on the 13th of June 1778, with the force already mentioned, and with unlimited discretionary powers. But this force was very inadequate to the defence of the great objects that he had in view. On the one hand it was perfectly known at the time, that France had a large fleet at Brest ready to put to sea. While on the other, our great commercial fleets were on their passage home from different quarters of the globe. Besides the defence of these fleets, he had to protect the extensive coast of Great Britain, together with those "invaluable reservoirs of her naval power, in which were equally included her present strength, and her future hope."

A few days after the arrival of the fleet at its sta-

tion in the Bay of Biscay, two French frigates, accompanied by two small vessels, appeared in sight, and were evidently taking a survey of the fleet. Keppel's situation was equally delicate and difficult. War had not been declared, nor was he ordered to strike the first blow. He, however, thought it a matter of indispensable necessity to stop these frigates, not only with a view to obtain intelligence, but to prevent any information respecting the state of his fleet being carried to France. Accordingly on the 17th of June he made a general signal to chace, and in the evening of that day, the Milford frigate came up with the French frigate *Licorne*, of thirty-two guns. The commander of the former, in the most obliging terms, requested the French captain to come under the English admiral's stern. This was at first refused, but upon a ship of the line coming up, and her firing a single gun, the Frenchman stood to her, and was brought into the fleet. Keppel sent a message to the French captain, giving him his assurance, that every civility would be shown him, and he should be happy to see him, as soon as they could come up in the morning. At day-break the next day, the French frigate made a movement, which rendered it necessary for one of the ships that convoyed her, to fire a shot across her way, as a signal for her to keep her course, upon which, to the utter astonishment of Keppel and the whole fleet, she suddenly poured a whole broadside, together with a general discharge of musketry, into the *America* of seventy-four guns, at the very instant that Lord Longford, her commander, was standing on the gunwale, and talking in terms of the utmost politeness to the French captain. The frigate instantly struck her colours as soon as she had discharged her fire. Many of the shot struck the *America*, but it was extraordinary, considering the closeness of the ships, that only four people were wounded. This behaviour on the part of the Frenchman, merited the severest treatment:

but the noble commander of the *America*, with singular magnanimity, and with a command of temper very uncommon, did not return a shot.

In the mean time, the other French frigate, called *La Belle Poule*, with a schooner of ten guns in company, were closely pursued by the *Arethusa* frigate, Captain Marshall, and the *Alert* cutter, until they got out of sight of the fleet. The *Arethusa* having got up with her chase, requested the French captain to bring to, and made known to him the orders of bringing him to the Admiral; which the Frenchman having peremptorily refused, Captain Marshall fired a shot across his bow, and this the other instantly returned with a whole broadside. A desperate engagement ensued, which was continued for more than two hours with uncommon vigour and warmth on both sides. Each seemed to contend for the palm of victory with an heroic and national emulation. The Frenchman had the advantage in weight of metal and number of men; for which the Englishman compensated by the superiority of his skill and discipline. At length, however, the *Arethusa* became altogether unmanageable, owing to her masts, sails, and rigging, being almost destroyed, and to there being hardly any wind to steady her; and having drifted during the action close upon the enemy's shore, the French ship took the opportunity of having her head in with the land, to stand into a small bay, where, at day-light, several boats came to her assistance, and towed her into a place of safety. At the commencement of this action, a battle equally spirited was maintained between Lieutenant Fairfax, in the *Alert* cutter, and the French schooner. Their force was pretty nearly equal; and the Frenchman supported the contest for an hour with the most determined bravery, but at last his vessel was so shattered, that he was compelled to strike.

From the capture of this vessel, Keppel derived information of an alarming nature. He had been led

to believe, that his fleet was only inferior to that of the French in one or two ships, and he, therefore, concluded, that he might not only without rashness, but with the most perfect confidence, oppose any force the enemy could bring out against him. But he now discovered, that the French fleet in Brest Road and Brest Water, amounted to thirty-two ships of the line, besides ten or twelve frigates, whereas his own fleet consisted only of twenty sail of the line and three frigates. His situation was peculiarly critical and perplexing, but upon every view of the subject he thought it advisable not to risk an engagement. He afterwards declared, "that he never in his life felt so deep a melancholy, as when he found himself obliged to turn his back on France. And that his courage was never put to such a trial as in that retreat; but that it was his firm persuasion his country was saved by it."

The fleet returned to Portsmouth on the 27th of June; but on the 9th of July he sailed again from Portsmouth with twenty-four sail of the line, and he was joined by six more two days afterwards. In all, therefore, he had now thirty sail of the line and four frigates, and two fire-ships. And the ships in general, were commanded by men of the highest estimation, for nautical knowledge, skill, and intrepidity. Although in the preceding volume we have given a detailed account of the ensuing engagement, we must, in this place, to render the memoir complete, give a rapid sketch of the same occurrences. On the 12th of July, he fell in with the French fleet, under Count D'Orvilliers, off Ushant, an engagement ensued, which though partial, was warm while it lasted. It was necessary to take a short time to repair the damages, which being done, the admiral made proper signals for the van and rear divisions to take their respective stations. This order was obeyed with great alacrity by Sir Robert Harland of the van, but Sir Hugh Palliser of the rear, took no notice of the

signal, and refused to join the commander-in-chief, till night prevented a renewal of the battle. The French taking advantage of the darkness, escaped to their own coast. The result of this business was, that Admiral Keppel was brought to trial, upon charges exhibited by his inferior officer.

This trial lasted a month and four days; and after the most full, strict, and patient examination of the almost endless detail of evidence on both sides, the court, on the 11th of February, came to the following decision:—"That the charge exhibited against the prisoner for misconduct and neglect of duty on the 27th of July, is malicious and ill-founded; it having appeared, that the said admiral, so far from having, by misconduct and neglect of duty on the day alluded to, lost an opportunity of rendering essential service to the state, and thereby tarnished the honour of the British navy, behaved as became a judicious, brave, and experienced officer."

This decision was no sooner made known, than a general acclamation of joy burst forth in the court; which being communicated to the crowd without, became universal through the town. A signal gun was fired to dispatch the tidings to Spithead, upon which the ships there saluted and cheered. The East Indiamen at the Motherbank fired nineteen vollies.

When the admiral came out of the court-house, he again received the acclamations of the multitude, and yielding to the solicitations of the navy at large, he walked to his apartments in procession, preceded by a band of music, and attended by the admirals and captains of the fleet. The noblemen and gentlemen had light blue ribbons in their hats (which they carried in their hands), with the word Keppel inserted in gold letters, presented to them for the occasion by the Dutchess of Cumberland, the Dutchess of Richmond, the Marchioness of Rockingham, the Countess of Effingham, and other ladies of fashion. The band played *He comes, he comes, the Hero comes*: while

the whole concourse of noblemen and gentlemen in the procession, and ladies from the windows, supplied the vocal part, and the crowd closed each period of the harmony with a choral cheer.

As soon as he got into his house, he came to the window, with the Duke of Cumberland on his right hand and Sir Robert Harland on his left, bowed to the people in the street, and then received the congratulations of the noblemen and gentlemen on his honourable acquittal.

The day after these transactions at Portsmouth, the sentence, and the short speech made by the president of the court-martial, being read in the House of Commons, the following motion was made and carried with only one dissenting voice, "That the thanks of this House be given to the Honourable Admiral Augustus Keppel, for his distinguished courage, conduct, and ability, in defending this kingdom in the course of the last summer, effectually protecting its trade, and more particularly for his having gloriously upheld the honour of the British flag on the 27th and 28th of July last."

The thanks of the Lords, in nearly the same terms, were agreed to in four days after, with the most perfect unanimity.

The spirit which prevailed in parliament on this memorable occasion, was diffused throughout the whole country. The trial at Portsmouth had arrested the attention and interested the feelings of the public in a very unusual degree; and in its result, every one seemed to think the prosperity and glory, as well as the justice and honour of the nation, materially concerned. The news of Keppel's acquittal was therefore received with an enthusiasm correspondent to these sentiments; and was celebrated in every part of the kingdom, as a great national deliverance. The rejoicings and illuminations were more general and splendid, than had ever before been witnessed; and

the example of the metropolis was followed by all the principal provincial towns.

On Keppel's arrival in London, he received a letter from the Admiralty, requesting him to resume his command. With this requisition, he thought it his duty to comply; though the studied coldness of the official terms in which the letter was couched, together with a garbled quotation that it contained from the sentence of the court-martial, omitting the clause so much to his honour, as well as that which marks the demerits of his accuser, too plainly indicated that the lords of the Admiralty had not the satisfaction of participating in the real and unmixed joy of the people of England at the event of his trial.

The disposition thus manifested by the Admiralty, afforded a subject of discussion in both houses of parliament; and the debates on this subject led to others of still greater magnitude, which were connected with it. In all these discussions, Keppel took an active part in support of the opposition; and his speeches were always felt in the house, because he delivered with clearness and precision, the observations which a great share of manly good sense, assisted by a consummate knowledge of the subject, had enabled him to make.

In March 1782, when the Rockingham party came into power, he was made first lord of the Admiralty, and at the same time was sworn in one of the members of the privy council. On the 8th of April following, he was promoted to the rank of admiral of the white; and on the 29th of the same month was created Viscount Keppel, of Elvedon, in the county of Suffolk.

On the death of Lord Rockingham, and the consequent formation of Lord Shelburne's administration in January 1783, he of course resigned his situation of first lord of the Admiralty; in which, however, he was soon replaced by his friends, who in the ensuing



April were again brought into power. He now continued to preside at the Admiralty with no less credit to himself, than advantage to his country, till the elevation of Mr. Pitt, in the beginning of 1784, when he was again displaced. And being at this period very much afflicted with the gout, and his professional services not being required in time of peace, he finally retired from public life.

In his retirement he continued for two years longer to display, with unaffected cheerfulness, though harassed with severe bodily infirmities, those many amiable qualities with which he was so largely endowed; and in the society of his private friends, he gave and received that pure pleasure which flows from the cordial sympathies of real esteem.

In the autumn of 1786, he was attacked with the gout in his stomach, of which he died on the 2d of October, in the sixty-third year of his age.

We shall conclude this account of his life, with the following fine and eloquent tribute to his memory, from the pen of his friend Mr. Burke: "The other day," says he, "in looking over some fine portraits, I met with the picture of Lord Keppel. It was painted by an artist worthy of the subject; the excellent friend of that excellent man from their earliest youth, and a common friend of us both, with whom we lived for many years without a moment of coldness, of peevishness, of jealousy, or of jar, to the day of our final separation.

"I ever looked on Lord Keppel as one of the greatest and best men of his age; and I loved and cultivated him accordingly. He was much in my heart, and, I believe, I was in his to the very last beat. It was after his trial at Portsmouth, that he gave me this picture. With what zeal and anxious affection I attended him through that his agony of glory, what part my son, in the early flush and enthusiasm of his virtue, and the pious passion with which he attached himself to all my connections, with what

prodigality we both squandered ourselves, in courting almost every sort of enmity for his sake!—I believe he felt just as I should have felt, such friendship, on such an occasion. I partook indeed of this honour with several of the first, and best, and ablest men in the kingdom, but I was behind hand with none of them; and I am sure, that if, to the eternal disgrace of this nation, and to the total annihilation of every trace of honour and virtue in it, things had taken a different turn from what they did, I should have attended him to the quarter-deck with no less good-will and more pride, though with far other feelings, than I partook of the general flow of national joy that attended the justice that was done to his virtue.

“ Lord Keppel had two countries: one of descent, and one of birth. Their interest and their glory are the same, and his mind was capacious of both. His family was noble, and it was Dutch; that is, he was of the oldest and purest nobility that Europe can boast, among a people renowned above all others for love of their native land. Though it was never shewn in insult to any human being, Lord Keppel was something high. It was a wild stock of pride on which the tenderest of all hearts had grafted the milder virtues. He valued ancient nobility, and he was not disinclined to augment it with new honours. He valued the old nobility and the new, not as an excuse for inglorious sloth, but as an incitement to virtuous activity. He considered it as a sort of cure for selfishness and a narrow mind. These sentiments he felt by the sure instinct of ingenuous feelings, and by the dictates of a plain, unsophisticated, natural understanding.

Lord Keppel was never married. He left the bulk of his fortune, which was very considerable, to Miss Keppel, his natural daughter. The remainder of it went to his brother, the earl of Albemarle.

## SIR FRANCIS GEARY, BART.

ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE, &amp;c.

THE father of Sir Francis was the descendant of an ancient family, which had been long settled near Aberystwith, in the county of Cardigan. In the earlier part of his life, he resided at Cheddington, Bucks; but afterwards at Areall Magna, near Wellington, in Shropshire. Sir Francis was born in the year 1709; but whether at Cheddington, or at Areall Magna, we know not.

Mr. Charnock informs us, that, having made choice of a naval life, Mr. Geary was, in 1727, by an admiralty order, entered as a volunteer on board the *Revenge*, a seventy-gun ship, at that time commanded by Captain Conningsby Norbury. She was one of the fleet which, under the orders of Sir John Norris, was sent to the Baltic, for the purpose of overawing the Czarina, and preventing a rupture between the courts of Denmark and Sweden. On his arrival off Copenhagen, Sir John was joined by a Danish squadron; but, as the death of the Czarina happened soon after, hostilities were prevented, the Russian fleet was laid up, and the English commander returned home.

Immediately on her return, the *Revenge* was ordered to Gibraltar, as a reinforcement to Sir Charles Wager, who had been sent thither to relieve the place from the Spaniards, by whom it was then besieged.

Of the succeeding fifteen years of Mr. Geary's life, we know nothing farther, than that he continued to serve in the navy, as a midshipman, and afterwards as a lieutenant. On the 30th of June, 1742, he was promoted from the latter rank to be captain of the *Squirrel*, of twenty guns. Soon afterwards he was

ordered out on a cruise off the Island of Madeira; where, on the 10th of February, 1743, he fell in with the *Pierre Joseph*, a French ship chartered by the Spanish merchants at Cadiz, and bound thither from the ports of Vera Cruz and the Havannah. "The enemy had used consummate art in endeavouring to conceal from any ship that might casually meet them, the knowledge of the persons to whom the cargo in reality belonged. The papers were all thrown overboard, and the supercargo concealed himself. The master was a Frenchman, untrue to his trust, and dishonest to his employers, for he confessed that the whole cargo was Spanish property. It consisted of sixty-five chests of silver, each containing three thousand pieces of eight, five bales of cochineal, fifty-seven of indigo, and one case of vanilla, a quantity of sugar, and three thousand five hundred hides."

Previously to this, Captain Geary had captured a Spanish privateer, which he manned and employed as an armed tender; and, in company with her, he had, on the 29th of the preceding month, taken and burnt a Spanish armed ship.

Before he sailed upon this cruise, which proved so successful, he entered into an engagement with another captain, to share with him whatever prizes they might take, during a given period. The *Pierre Joseph* was not captured till after the expiration of the term agreed upon; notwithstanding which, Captain Geary, in the most honourable manner, presented his friend with a fair moiety of the prize: expressing his conviction, that he would have acted in the same manner towards him, had he been equally successful.

Captain Geary appears to have been extremely fortunate in his captures. Early in 1744 he commanded, for a very short time, the *Dolphin*; but, on the 17th of February, was promoted to the *Chester*, of fifty guns: and being sent out to cruise, in company with Captain Brett, of the *Sunderland*, captured, on the

20th of February, a French frigate, of twenty guns, and a hundred and thirty-four men, besides many passengers of consequence, having on board twenty-four thousand dollars, and a very valuable cargo. In a memorandum made by himself, Sir Francis states, that while he commanded the *Chester*, which he captured, after a trifling skirmish, as he terms it, but in which he had an officer killed, and several men killed and wounded, a French frigate called the *Elephant*. Whether this circumstance took place in Europe or during the time he was at Louisbourg, he is silent. The fact is, that both of these accounts relate to one and the same capture. But the *Elephant*, commanded by M. Sellet, was taken on the 20th of February, 1745, and not 1744. By the date, this event took place before Captain Geary sailed for Louisbourg.

In the year 1744, however, this officer participated in the taking of eight French West Indiamen; and in the following February, Captain Geary sat as one of the members of the court-martial which was holden on board the *Lenox*, in Portsmouth harbour, for the trial of Captains Griffin, Mostyn, Brett, and Fowke; soon after which he was ordered for Louisbourg, to reinforce the small squadron then employed in the reduction of that place, under the late Commodore Sir Peter Warren. Shortly after the surrender of Louisbourg, in June, Captain Geary was sent home with an express; a circumstance by which he was prevented from receiving a share of the immense property that was subsequently captured. He is said to have thus sustained a "negative loss" of nearly 12,000*l*.

Soon after his arrival in England, Captain Geary was appointed, through the special interest of the duke of Bedford, at that time first lord of the Admiralty, to the *Culloden*, of seventy-four guns. In this ship he was, in 1747, ordered into the Bay of Biscay, with the squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Hawke, with whom he remained, on

constant service, until the conclusion of the war in 1748. While thus employed, he had the misfortune to encounter a violent storm, in which the *Culloden* lost one of her masts.

Captain Geary was next appointed commander in chief of the ships in the *Medway*, with the rank of commodore; an appointment which he is supposed to have holden but a short time; as, in the month of September, 1748, he quitted the *Culloden*, and is not known to have received any subsequent command, until the beginning of the year 1755.

In the course of the same month that he left the *Culloden*, Captain Geary married Miss Bartholomew, a Kentish lady, of considerable fortune; through whom his son and successor, the present Sir William Geary, inherits the family-seat of Oxenheath. During the remainder of the peace he lived in retirement.

In consequence of the French having continued to foment disturbances in America, it was found expedient, in the spring of 1755, again to prepare for hostilities. At this time Captain Geary was appointed to the *Somerset* of seventy guns; and, in the month of April, he sailed for North America, under the command of Admiral Boscawen. The result of this expedition was, that the combined squadrons of Boscawen and Holbourne captured two of De la Motte's ships, the *Alcide*, and the *Lys*, of sixty-four guns each, with 80,000*l.* sterling, and a number of French officers of distinction on board. Finding that nothing farther was likely to be achieved, Admiral Boscawen returned to England in November.

At the close of the year, Captain Geary was ordered to join the Channel fleet, then under the command of Sir Edward Hawke. In the winter of 1756-7, he was one of the members of the court-martial, assembled on board the *Prince George*, in Portsmouth harbour, for the trial of Admiral Byng.

The only material success that Captain Geary met with, whilst employed in the Channel fleet, appears to have been the following :

“ At dawn of day (in April, 1757), the Somerset and Rochester men of war discovered five sail about two leagues distance; they consisted of three ships, one snow, and a schooner: upon which the Somerset and Rochester immediately chaced the two largest, who bore away to the northward, and the other three hauled to the north-west. Before noon, the Somerset and Rochester took them; one named the *Renommée*, burthen three hundred and fifty tons, laden chiefly with pork, flour, and two hundred muskets; the other, the *Superb*, burthen seven hundred and fifty tons, laden with some provisions, bale goods, and several cases of small arms, both letter of marque ships from Bourdeaux to Quebec, having on board two hundred and forty-two officers and soldiers of the royal regiment of foreign volunteers, which with the seamen and passengers, amounted to three hundred and ninety-one prisoners.”

About the month of February, 1758, Captain Geary was appointed to the *Lenox*, a new third rate, of seventy-four guns; but quitted her, in the following year, for the *Resolution*, a ship of the same force. On the 18th of May, 1759, he sailed with the fleet commanded by Sir Edward Hawke; and, in three days after, was ordered, by the commander in chief, to hoist a red broad pendant, as commander of a division or squadron, consisting of ten ships of the line, two frigates, and a fire-ship. It does not appear, that, in this new command, he had any particular opportunity of distinguishing himself. Whilst at sea, in the month of June, he received his commission as Rear-admiral, accompanied by instructions to put himself under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, with a considerable squadron.

On the 29th of August, he shifted his flag from the *Sandwich*, into the *Royal George*. the former

having been ordered into Plymouth to refit. When she rejoined the fleet off Ushant, on the 29th of September, he again hoisted his flag in the Sandwich; in which he remained, under Sir Edward Hawke, watching the fleet of Conflans, then lying in Brest harbour, till the strong westerly winds drove the British ships from their station, and compelled them to put into Torbay in the beginning of November. The Sandwich having sprung her main-mast, was prevented from getting in till after the rest of the fleet.

Sir Edward Hawke put to sea again on the 14th of November, in quest of the enemy; ordering Rear-admiral Geary to land his sick, amounting to eighty-seven, at Plymouth, and to get up a new top-mast; after which, he was to proceed to the place of rendezvous, off Ushant, taking with him out of the Sound every ship that was ready for sea.

Unfortunately, the delay thus necessarily occasioned, prevented the rear-admiral from rejoining the commander in chief, sufficiently early to participate in the memorable defeat of the Marquis De Conflans. Exerting himself, however, with the greatest possible diligence, he sailed from Plymouth on the 19th of November, carrying with him the Foudroyant and Bienfaisant; but, on his passage to the appointed rendezvous, he received a letter and order from Sir Edward Hawke, instructing him to continue cruising off Brest, with all the ships of his squadron, till farther orders. On the 22d of November, the Acteon joined him with a duplicate of the order last mentioned, enclosed to him by Commodore Hanway, from Plymouth. When off Ushant, he unfortunately encountered a most tremendous gale, which drove him near two hundred leagues to the westward: he then made sail and regained his station, where he continued, though without being fortunate enough to meet with any success till towards the end of December, and returned into port on the 27th, having



been seven months and nine days at sea, with the trivial interval of putting into Plymouth Sound for three days, by order of Sir Edward Hawke, to put his sick men on shore, to procure water and get up his top-mast.

After this long cruise, Rear admiral Geary continued in port till the 30th of April, 1760; when he received an order from Admiral Boscawen, to proceed with a squadron under his command, to cruise off Rochfort, for the purpose of intercepting a French expedition, then fitting for the East Indies in that harbour. This was a measure of precaution on the part of government; as, had the French squadron got to sea, and arrived safely in India, their naval force in that quarter would have become greatly superior to that of the English. Accordingly, the rear-admiral continued cruising off Rochfort, and occasionally anchoring in Basque Road, in sight of the enemy, till the 6th of September. On that day, it having been ascertained that the French had abandoned their intended expedition, and had actually unrigged their ships, he received orders to join Sir Edward Hawke in Quiberon Bay. This junction he effected on the 7th, and continued on that station with Sir Edward till the 3d of October, when he received orders from the commander in chief to proceed to Spithead, where he arrived on the 25th of the same month. On the following day he struck his flag, having obtained leave of absence from the Admiralty board, but soon afterwards was invested with the command as port-admiral of the ships and vessels at Spithead, being successor to Vice-admiral Holbourne: he accordingly hoisted his flag on board the Royal Sovereign.—His first important charge after entering on this office, was the equipment of the squadron intended for the expedition against Belleisle, and the embarkation of the troops destined for that service. The same occupation, though not on so extensive a scale, notwithstanding the object itself was

more important, was repeated in 1762. This was, the superintendance of the equipment of that part of the armament which sailed from England, under the command of Sir George Pocock, destined for the attack of the Havannah and the island of Cuba. The great diligence and attention to the service, as well as the indefatigable exertions displayed by Mr. Geary, in forwarding every thing that related to it, were so conspicuous, that the earl of Albemarle, the general in chief, made a very particular representation of his conduct to his Majesty, who signified his highest and most gracious approbation of his behaviour.

On the 21st of October, 1762, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue squadron, retaining his command at Spithead until the signing of the preliminary articles of peace. Soon after that event, he received orders to strike his flag, the particular service on which he had been employed having been accomplished.

Thus, during the whole of the war, Admiral Geary had been uninterruptedly employed in the Channel service, and as commander in chief, or port-admiral, at Portsmouth and Spithead; excepting only for ten months, when he commanded at the Nore with the rank of an established commodore, having a captain under him.

By the same packet which conveyed to Admiral Geary the orders for striking his flag, at Spithead, he had the satisfaction of receiving "the thanks of the House of Commons, both to himself, and the officers under his command, for his diligence and conduct, more particularly on those occasions which had already established him in the highest reputation, both with his sovereign and his countrymen."

From the peace of 1763, to the period of the Spanish armament in 1770, to which we have so often had occasion to advert, the vice-admiral enjoyed another interval of retirement. At that time he was re-appointed to the Portsmouth command, and made

vice-admiral of the red. Assisted in this case of emergency, which required the utmost dispatch, by Rear-admiral Buckle, he succeeded in effecting the intentions of government, as far as his department was concerned; after which, when the armament was laid aside, he "once more passed," says Mr. Charnock, "into retirement and private life; a station to which no man could do more honour, either as a friend, a relative, or a gentleman; perfectly independent in his principles, strictly honourable in all transactions with which he was connected, and exhibiting on every occasion the character of a man possessing every moral and social virtue." It is deserving of notice, that, soon after Vice-admiral Geary entered upon the command of which we have been speaking, he had an unpleasant dispute with Rear-admiral Elphinstone, of the Russian service, respecting the right of the latter to fire a morning and evening gun, at relieving and setting the watch. The English commander resisted the practice, as irregular; particularly as the Russian ship had neither flag nor pendant flying. Several letters passed upon the subject, in which the conduct of Rear-admiral Elphinstone was censured by the Russian minister; whilst Vice-admiral Geary was much applauded for his vigilance in attending to the forms of his Majesty's service.

On the 51st of March, 1775, during his absence from active life, this officer was made admiral of the blue squadron; and, on the 29th of January, 1778, admiral of the white. In the month of May, 1780, on the death of Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, Admiral Geary, though in a very indifferent state of health, was again called upon to return to the service of his country. Accordingly, on the 24th of the month, having received his Majesty's orders, through the earl of Sandwich, then first lord of the Admiralty, he assumed the chief command of the Channel fleet, which at that time consisted of twenty-nine ships of the line and eight frigates.

When Admiral Geary put to sea, he immediately proceeded off Brest; his instructions being, to prevent, if possible, an intended junction between the Spanish squadrons then in Cadiz, Ferrol, and Carthagea, and those of France in Brest, Rochfort, and l'Orient. Nothing material occurred however, "till the 3d of July, when the Monarch, being a-head of the fleet on the look-out, made a signal at ten o'clock in the morning for discovering a fleet consisting of twenty sail: these were immediately concluded to be the enemy of whom they were in search, and the utmost alacrity was used in endeavouring to get up with them. The chase continued the whole day, and at five o'clock in the afternoon the headmost ships came up with the sternmost of the fugitives, which were now discovered to be nothing more than a convoy from Port-au-Prince, under the protection of a single ship of fifty guns. The chase was continued by the pursuers, who did not bring to for the purpose of securing the ships they passed, leaving that duty to some others of the fleet who were still astern. Unfortunately a very thick fog came on about seven o'clock, and proved the preservation of nearly half the enemy's convoy, twelve, however, were captured; and, had it not been for the fog, the whole of them must have fallen into the hands of the British fleet.

It was during the chase of this French convoy, that the following ludicrous incident took place. The unfortunate Kempenfelt, celebrated for his skill in manœuvring a large fleet, previously to the commencement of an action, and also during its continuance, was Admiral Geary's first captain. Kempenfelt had contracted a habit of using more signals than men less practised in that particular branch of service thought necessary. "As soon as the enemy were discovered," says Charnock, "and the signal made for a general chase, Kempenfelt, burning with as much impatience as his commander in chief to get

up with the enemy, though differing in a trivial degree in his idea as to the best mode of effecting it, brought up the signal book, which he opened and laid on the binnacle with the greatest form and precision; Admiral Geary, eagerly supposing the chase to be the Brest fleet, went up to him with the greatest good humour, and squeezing him by the hand in a manner better to be conceived than expressed, said quaintly, ‘ Now my dear, dear friend, do pray let the signals alone to-day, and to-morrow you shall order as many as ever you please.’ ”

Having continued at sea for upwards of two months, and having two thousand five hundred sick men on board the fleet, Admiral Geary thought it advisable to return to port, and accordingly put into Spithead on the 18th of August. Shortly after his arrival there, he received a letter from Lord Hawke, of which the following is an extract.

“ Although I am in a good deal of pain, and much in the invalid order, yet I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of wishing you all imaginable good fortune when you go out again; and I trust in God your next cruise will prove a happy and a glorious one, both for your country and yourself. My good friend, I have always wished you well, and have ever talked freely and openly to you on every subject relative to the service. Recollect some of these passages; and, for God’s sake, if you should be so lucky as to get sight of the enemy, get as close to them as possible. Do not let them shuffle with you by engaging at a distance, but get within musket-shot if you can; that will be the way to gain great honour, and will be the means to make the action decisive. By doing this, you will put it out of the power of any of the crawlers to find fault. I am fully persuaded you will faithfully do your part, therefore hope you will forgive my saying so much on the subject. I find the Russians are gone from the Downs, so that you will have no trouble about them. My good friend, God bless

you ! may the hand of Providence go with you and protect you in the day of battle, and grant you victory over our perfidious enemies ! and may you return with honour to your country and family again ! These are the sincere and hearty wishes of him who is most truly and faithfully."

Admiral Geary had not the happiness of realising the wishes of his friend ; as, shortly after his arrival at Spithead, he was taken ill ; and, obtaining leave of absence, he went on shore, to his house at Polesden, in Surrey, under the hope, by that means, of facilitating his recovery. His returning health, however, did not keep pace with his wishes ; and, conceiving such a trust too important to be holden by any person whose imbecility of body might impair the energies of his mind, he solicited and obtained leave to resign his command. " This gentleman," says Mr. Charnock, " continued to live ever afterwards in retirement, spending the remainder of his life with a character rendered truly exalted by a long and most meritorious service : the grateful remembrance of which procured him the honourable advancement to the rank of a baronet of Great Britain, on the 3d of August, 1782. Having obtained the advanced age of eighty-six years, he died on the 7th day of February, 1796, most highly revered as a naval commander, and not less sincerely lamented as a friend, a gentleman, and a Briton. In this, therefore, among many other instances, we have the satisfaction of saying, without the imputation of flattery, that honour, benevolence, public spirit, and general worth formed the leading traits of his character, and that mankind have not been so ungrateful as to forget them."

## SIR HUGH PALLISER, BART.

THIS gentleman was descended from an ancient and respectable family, possessed of a considerable estate at Newbywisk, in Yorkshire. His father, the younger son of a numerous family, was a captain in the army. He married the daughter of Humphrey Robinson, Esq. of Thicket-hall, in the county of York, and was severely wounded in the battle of Almanza. His two elder brothers were also wounded, and died lieutenant-colonels in the army: but the eldest of them having nearly ruined the Yorkshire estate, went and settled in Ireland, where he improved his fortune, lived to the age of one hundred, and entailed six hundred pounds a year on the subject of this article. Another of the family, the friend of the celebrated Locke, died archbishop of Cashel, and made considerable endowments on the college of Dublin. Sir Hugh Palliser was born at Kirk Deighton, in the county of York, on the 26th of February, 1722; he was sent early to sea under the protection of a relation, a captain in the navy. He was attached to his profession, so that he soon gained the character of a skilful seaman and an able officer, together with the friendship, as well as good opinion of his superiors, amongst whom were to be reckoned Lord Anson, Admiral Boscawen, and Sir Charles Saunders. Under their auspices, he gradually rose to eminent stations in both the military and civil branches of the naval service.

He was made lieutenant in 1742; in that station he became first of the Essex, commanded by Captain Norris, in the engagement off Toulon, on the 11th of February 1744. Captain Norris being backward and behaving ill, was ordered to be tried by a court-martial; but the court construing the order to be

only for a court of enquiry, the captain was permitted to quit at Mahon, and never appearing again, was struck off the list. In July 1746, Lieutenant Palliser was promoted to be commander of the Weazle sloop; and, on his station off Beachy Head, in a short time, he captured four French privateers, which acquired for him, on the 25th of November following, the rank of post captain in the Captain, under Commodore Legge, just appointed commander in chief at the Leeward Islands, on whose death Captain Palliser moved into the Sutherland, of fifty guns, that he might accommodate the senior captain (afterwards Sir George Pococke), with the large ship.

“ The capture of two of them is officially related in the following manner, which is so extremely honourable to Captain Palliser, whose force was not more than equal to one of his opponents, that we have inserted it at full length.

*Admiralty-Office, October 14.*

“ Captain Palliser, in his Majesty’s sloop, the Weazle, being on a cruise off the Isle of Wight, on the 8th instant, at ten in the morning, saw a shallop, which he gave chase to, and at one came up with her and took her; she was called the Jeantie, a French privateer belonging to Boulogne, mounting six carriage and six swivel guns, and had forty eight men on board, and was commanded by Antoine Colloit.

“ When Captain Palliser had shifted the prisoners he gave chase to another vessel, and at dark came up with and took her. She was called the Fortune, a French privateer of Honfleur, mounting ten carriage and ten swivel guns, and had ninety-five men on board, commanded by John Gilliere. Both the prizes are brought into port.”

The Sutherland having been dismasted in an hurricane, Captain Palliser lost the opportunity of sharing with the rest of the fleet in the capture of a very large French convoy, which had been dispersed by Sir Ed-



ward Hawke. An additional misfortune afterwards befel him when cruising to the leeward of Martinico : being in want of water he proceeded to Prince Rupert's Bay, Dominica, at that time inhabited by only a few French, and savages. Having ordered a party of marines to land for the protection of the waterers, the armourer, in taking the arms out of the chest on the quarter-deck, by carelessness, struck fire : this communicated to the cartouch boxes therein, and occasioned all the arms to go off. The captain, who was then sitting on the other arm chest on the opposite side of the deck, was immediately wounded and disabled by a ball, which entered on the left side of his back, and was taken out at his right groin : another struck his right hip, and a third his left shoulder. The armourer and his mate were both killed, but the captain, with able assistance, recovered contrary to the expectations of the surgeons themselves. He remained ever after lame in the left leg, having a perpetual and sometimes very excruciating pain, which at length occasioned his death. Notwithstanding this accident he persevered in the service, being in commission for the Sheerness frigate, on the peace with France and Spain in 1748, and was sent express to Admiral Boscawen, in the East Indies, with news of that event. In 1750 he was appointed to the Yarmouth guard-ship, and shortly afterwards moving into the Seahorse, a twenty gun ship, was ordered to the coast of Scotland, to intercept the disaffected who had projected schemes with the court of France, for returning secretly to Scotland in order to raise new disturbances there. His diligence in this service gained him the ill will of a numerous party in that country, who concerted plans to interrupt and distress him. Many methods were unsuccessfully laid to entrap him, and the captain having orders to enter all such volunteers as offered, they forged an indenture for one of that description, alleging that he was an apprentice to the

master of a ship, and engaged the judge of the vice-admiralty court of Scotland to proceed against Palliser for entering him; but the captain refusing to let the man be taken out of the king's ship, the next time he went on shore, he was arrested by warrant from the judge, and imprisoned for some days in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh, until the lords of Sessions interposed their authority, superseded the warrant, and released the captain. The master of the vessel who countenanced the forged indenture fled the country.

In the year 1753 he was appointed captain of the *Bristol*, a ship of fifty guns, ordered to be fitted at Plymouth for a guard-ship. He did not, however, long continue to hold this command, for government having determined to send an army to Virginia, to drive the French from their encroachments on the back settlements of that province, Commodore Keppel was ordered with two fifty-gun ships and some frigates to Virginia, and Captain Palliser, with the *Sea-horse* and *Nightingale*, was directed to convoy the transports. He sailed in January 1755, but, instead of going the usual tract, he ran to the southward as far as the Tropic, thus avoiding the bad weather at that season of the year, and found Commodore Keppel, General Braddock, and the ships with them, which had arrived a very short time before at Hampton, very much damaged by the heavy gales they met within the usual tract. Their ship's companies were extremely sickly, and the commodore had provided hospitals for the troops under Captain Palliser's convoy, supposing they would arrive in the same condition. On the contrary, they all appeared in good health, and proceeded immediately up the river Potomack to Alexandria, where no king's ships had ever been seen before. Here was held the first congress, consisting of the commanding general, commodore, and all his Majesty's governors of the colonies; and here the provincial troops of Virginia, under Captain Washington's, joined the king's troops.

After General Braddock's death and defeat, Commodore Keppel returned a passenger to England, in the *Seahorse*, with Captain Palliser. Hostilities having commenced with France in September 1755, Captain Palliser was commissioned to the *Eagle*, of sixty guns. On the 30th May, 1757, being on a cruise off Ushant, in company with the *Medway*, of sixty guns, they in the night fell in with and gave chase to a French East India ship, mounting fifty guns. At day-light she appeared with her lower tier run out. The *Medway* shortened sail to clear ship; this gave the *Eagle*, she being clear for action, the opportunity to pass her and begin the attack at two ship's lengths, so that almost every shot took place. After a short, but very sharp action, she struck, having fifty-one men killed, and the number of wounded not ascertained, with ninety-seven shot-holes through both sides. Her main and mizen-masts fell just as she struck. The *Eagle* had ten men killed and thirty-two wounded, with twenty-one shot through her sides.

In July 1758, Captain Palliser being then commander of the *Shrewsbury*, of seventy-four guns, to which ship he had been appointed in the early part of the year, Lord Anson detached him with a squadron to cruise as near the entrance of Brest as he could in order to watch the French fleet in the road. Whilst on that service he fell in with a fleet of coasters, under convoy of two frigates, which he drove on shore at the entrance of the Bay D'Hodiernes, and captured some of the trading vessels. In 1759 he was, with Admiral Saunders, on the successful expedition against Quebec, on which occasion he commanded the body of seamen which landed and took possession of the Lower Town. In 1760 he served under the same Admiral in the Mediterranean, who detached him after a small French squadron which had slipped out of Toulon, and were gone up the Levant to parade

and persuade the Turks that the French fleets were not blocked up by the English. Captain Palliser chased them into the Turkish ports, under protection of the grand Seignor's batteries, in the harbours of the Morea. Nothing but respect to the neutrality of the grand Seignor's ports prevented their destruction; and the English ambassador at the port made a proper use of the event, to the disgrace of the French, and the honour of the British name at Constantinople.

In 1762 he was dispatched with three ships of the line and a frigate, to retake St. John's in Newfoundland; but on his arrival, he found that Lord Colville and Colonel Amherst had anticipated that service: and, after the peace, he was sent out thither again as governor and commodore for the protection of that fishery, against the encroachments of the French, having under him a fifty-gun ship, which bore his broad pendant, and several frigates. He met with a French commodore, with a similar force, pretending to regulate their own fisheries, and settle disputes with ours, but, in reality, encreasing them; wherefore Commodore Palliser warned the French commander to quit the coast, informing him that the sovereignty of the island belonged to Great Britain, and that he would not suffer any foreign authority to interfere with his government.

In 1770, Commodore Palliser was appointed comptroller of the navy, and elected an elder brother of the Trinity House. In 1773 he was created a baronet; in 1774 chosen representative in parliament for Scarborough; in 1775 promoted to be a flag-officer; and, as at that time a comptroller of the navy would not hold his seat at the board with his flag, he was appointed one of the lords of the Admiralty, as successor to the earl of Bristol. In the same year his friend, Sir Charles Saunders, died, leaving him a legacy of 5,000*l.* and Sir Hugh Pal-

liser succeeded him as lieutenant-general of marines. On the 29th of January, 1778, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue.

Towards the end of 1777, and in the beginning of 1778, the warlike preparations made by the French manifested their intentions to support the revolted English colonies against their mother country. At this time Admiral Keppel, who then resided on the continent, was in the habit of corresponding with Sir Hugh Palliser, and when the opposing fleet of England was preparing, the latter laboured much, and at length succeeded in bringing about the appointment of the former to the chief command, being himself selected to serve under him in the third station: with this Admiral Keppel expressed himself well pleased, and informed Sir Hugh, by letter, that he was one of the very few he could depend on. The indecisive action which took place with the enemy on the 27th of July following, has been already described; and as we have given the defence made by Admiral Keppel, we shall in this place subjoin an extract from a speech delivered by Sir Hugh Palliser in the House of Commons, on the 4th of December, 1780, in which he publicly assigns the reasons which actuated his conduct, both immediately after the action, while the two fleets were in sight of each other, as well as the measures taken by him on shore, previous to the commencement of the court-martial.

“The event of my trial confirmed me in the expectation with which I had before consoled myself. My judges proved superior to the influence of party and the dread of unmerited unpopularity, discharged their office with a determined impartiality, and the result was a sentence, which I shall ever think most honourable to me. In the introductory part of it my judges declared, that my conduct and behaviour were, in many respects, highly exemplary and meritorious. Though, too, the court had scrutinized into every part of my conduct with an almost unex-

amplified strictness, the only omission which could be suggested was, that I did not inform the commander in chief of the disabled state of the Formidable : but so far was the court from imputing this to a blameable cause, or from attributing the least ill consequence to it, that they stated it in dubious and reluctant terms, simply pointing it out as a matter of opinion; and having so done, they concluded with an absolute acquittal. Indeed, had I conceived that there was a probability of imputing such an omission to me, I should have been more full in my explanation on this head. I did take notice that the signal of distress, in the fighting instructions, was not applicable, and that the condition of the Formidable was so apparent, as to make any information from me unnecessary. I also noticed, that I had no frigate by which I could send information; the Milford, which was the only frigate in my division, having been taken from me, by Mr. Keppel, early in the afternoon. But I might have advanced several steps further to obviate the idea of omission. Till the Fox reached me between seven and eight at night, Mr. Keppel's own conduct did not leave me the least room to suppose him ignorant of the Formidable's inability to reach the length of my station in the line, for he not only did not make any enforcing signal to signify his expectation of seeing my division in the line, till thirteen minutes after six, when the signal for coming into his wake was hoisted a second time; but also, on putting out the pendants of several ships of my division at half an hour after six, he did not think fit to make my pendant one of the number; whence I concluded that he knew my condition, and therefore did not expect me. In respect to afterwards sending information by the Fox, if I had thought it necessary I had not the opportunity, the Fox having separated from me before I could finish what I had begun to say to her captain. What other means I could have devised to send an expla-

nation to Mr. Keppel, time enough to answer any purpose, I am still to learn: but all this is not of importance to me; the terms in which the omission is stated, with the acquittal which follows, sufficiently protect my character, being repugnant to the most remote idea of criminal imputation.

“Since my trial, I have patiently waited for the subsiding of the public prejudices; and, so far as regards my exculpation from the charges for my conduct on the day of engagement, I have reason to believe, that the proceedings on my own trial have opened the eyes of many, who, before they knew what was my defence, had been seduced into an injurious opinion of me; and, I trust, that the more thoroughly the grounds on which my judges acted are examined and understood, the more convincing the proofs of my innocence will appear.

“But still some unfavourable impressions continue to operate against me, on account of my accusation of Mr. Keppel, and for this I have been blamed even by some persons of great respect, who were far from being indisposed to form an impartial judgment if they were furnished with the necessary materials.

“In this part of the case my ill fortune exposes me to the most embarrassing disadvantages. On the one hand, there is a sentence acquitting Admiral Keppel and declaring my charges malicious and ill founded: but, on the other hand, the manner in which I was urged and driven to become an accuser, and the grounds on which I could have sustained my charges, are not only ill understood, but, in truth, have never yet been explained by myself. The proper time for discussing this matter was when Mr. Keppel was on his trial, but then the opportunity was denied me. The trial being closed, and a judgment of acquittal irrevocably pronounced, it might seem invidious and unbecoming on my part to publish to the world what I should have offered in support of my charges: such a measure I have therefore de-

clined hitherto, nor will I be ever induced to adopt it by any thing less than its being authoritatively called for, or the most apparent impossibility of otherwise resisting the attempts to complete my ruin: but then the difficulty is, how to avoid such an extremity without surrendering myself a quiet victim to the persecuting spirit of my enemies. The leaders of them have continually been loading my name with reproaches; and though some of them on many accounts have a title to much respect, yet even those so far forget all manliness of character, as to assail me with the most embittered eloquence in this house, when it was known that I could not be present to defend myself: now too that I am present, they know the advantage they derive from my being unendowed with qualifications for a popular assembly, and thence they are encouraged to recommence their attacks, though surely they cannot imagine that I shall sit still without at least endeavouring to give a check to any aspersion aimed at me personally; under these circumstances, should I continue acquiescing in these public attacks of my character without any attempt to repel them, more especially at this time, when I am threatened with new efforts to keep me out of the service of my country, I should establish the credit of the misrepresentations by which I deem myself so highly injured; some explanation on my part is, therefore, immediately requisite, to disappoint my enemies of the final accomplishment of their designs.

“ It is not, however, my intention to revive the consideration of the past transactions relative to Admiral Keppel and myself, further than he and his friends shall compel me by their hostilities. I am well convinced not only that very ill consequences have already arisen to the public service from the contest between that gentleman and me, but that new mischiefs will be generated if the subject is resumed; under this impression I think it incumbent



on me to make great sacrifices of my own private feelings, rather than administer the least pretence for any further discussion of the grievances of which the honourable admiral and I respectively complain: therefore on the present occasion I shall avoid speaking to many points in which my character is interested, and I shall keep within much narrower limits than I should prescribe to myself, if I aimed at the full defence of my conduct towards the honourable admiral who is opposed to me.

“ The friends of the honourable admiral, in their invectives against me, seem to place their chief reliance on the sentence pronounced by his court-martial; I mean that part of the sentence which declares my charges malicious and ill-founded. This is the bitter spring from which my enemies draw poison to impregnate their licentious declamations.

“ If the admiral’s friends were content with appealing to this sentence as a testimony of his innocence, I, on my part, for the sake of public tranquillity, would forbear all complaint and objections: but when the admiral or his friends, aiming at a further persecution of me, apply that sentence to fix upon me the stigma of being a false and malicious accuser, I cannot acquiesce: the injury is too gross, to be patiently submitted to; as such I feel, and will resist it.

“ It has been urged against me, that I was too late in my accusation; and that, if I had thought the honourable admiral guilty of misconduct, I ought to have avowed my sentiments immediately, and without waiting till he accused me. I answer thus: from the beginning, the conduct of the admiral was not adequate to my expectations. I thought that the engagement of the 27th July was injudiciously conducted; that the manner of carrying us into action, was disorderly; that there was too much neglect of manœuvres, too much contempt of the enemy, too much confidence at first, and too much awe of the

enemy, too much distance from them, too much diffidence of ourselves afterwards. But my friendship and esteem for the admiral, his previous services to his country, his high name in the world; these moved me to a favourable construction; and thus influenced, I imputed the miscarriage of the day to error of judgment, to ill health, to ill advice, to ill fortune, to every thing devoid of that evident and positive criminality which might force me to undertake the painful office of accusing one whom I then deemed my friend. As there was not room for praise, I did not bestow it; and as I then conceived that the admiral's failures might not be wilful, I both avoided public accusation, and most rigidly abstained from secret detraction: but new lights and new occurrences presented to my mind a very different view of the admiral's conduct. When the discontents increased through the nation, in consequence of the reflection that a superior fleet of England had, for a time, declined continuing to engage an inferior one of France, and permitted it to return into port in the middle of summer, unpursued, the officers, relations, friends, and dependants, of the honourable admiral, thought fit to account for this new phenomenon, at the expense of my reputation; and, for that purpose, some of them published to the world, that my defaults had prevented a second engagement. Being thus injuriously attacked, I both personally and by letter solicited the honourable admiral to give a check to such aspersions: but he refused to do this justice to my character; and on conversing with him and his first captain, I found that they not only countenanced the slanders against me, but added to their number, by refusing to acknowledge, either that on coming out of the action I instantly wore to return to the enemy, or that they had even once seen me on the proper tack for that purpose. This explanation from the honourable admiral and his first captain, excited both astonishment and suspicion. I was amazed at

their denial of such incontrovertible facts, and at the admiral's adopting a language so inconsistent with the high commendation of me in his public letter; and I then saw that there was a plot concerted to destroy my character without a trial, and so to make me chargeable for the admiral's failures. My feelings on the occasion were the stronger, because I was conscious that the chief part of the battle had fallen to the share of me and my division; that I had set an example of forwardness to pursue our blow, by instantly returning upon the enemy, and continuing to stand towards them again; that though the last out of the engagement, I was advancing to be the first in the renewal of it; and that I should have had that honour, if the admiral had not declined renewing the action, and taken his fleet in a direction from the enemy. Under these circumstances, it was natural that I should scrutinize the admiral's conduct more rigidly, and no longer see it with the partial eyes of a friend; and on such a view of the unhappy miscarriage, I, at length, imputed to real neglect, what I before had ascribed to causes which might be pardoned, more especially in consideration of former services, and such as at first did not seem to me to preclude the hopes of better management, in case of again meeting the enemy. Indeed, if in Mr. Keppel's place there had been a man indifferent to me, one of whom I had not before formed a very high opinion, it is probable that my mind would have shaped a different course: probably my first judgment of the matter might have been the same harsh one as is conveyed by the charges against the admiral. But what apology can he make for the lateness of his accusation; he who had the charge of the fleet and the command in chief; he in whom the nation reposed its confidence, not only for the discharge of his own duty, but to see that those under him completely performed what they owed to the state? What apology can he make, for first praising

me by a public letter, and in equal degree with Sir Robert Harland, and afterwards accusing me for the same affair? Shall he be at liberty to retract his applause, and to substitute accusation for it? Shall he be allowed to say that his heart dictated censure, whilst his pen wrote praise? And shall mere silence restrain me from accusation, or be imputed to me as insincerity and inconsistency?

“As to the state of the proofs on the two trials, I purposely avoid all comparison, because that would be entering into the merits of them, which I think would at this time be improper.”

Sir Hugh Palliser died admiral of the white, governor of Scarborough Castle, one of the elder brethren of the Trinity House, and governor of Greenwich Hospital, at his country seat, the Vache, in Buckinghamshire, on the 19th of March, 1796, aged seventy-four, in consequence of a disorder induced by the wounds received on board the Sutherland, in 1747, as mentioned in the former part of this narrative. The title descended to his great nephew, Hugh Palliser Walters, Esq. and he left considerable sums for charitable purposes, with many legacies; but the bulk of his fortune, real and personal, he willed to his natural son, George Palliser, Esq. A suitable monument is erected to his memory, in the parish church of Chalfont St. Giles's, in the county of Bucks, where his remains are interred.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*Abstract of the most important Voyages by English Navigators—since the Second Voyage of Captain James Cook.*

**T**HE grand and leading object of Captain Cook's third and last voyage was, to ascertain the practicality of a north-west passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic Ocean. The opinion that such a passage existed and was practicable, had long been entertained by navigators, especially by the English; and attempts had been made for that purpose so early as 1576, by Frobisher. While he and other navigators had endeavoured by exploring the coasts of America in a high northern latitude to reach the Pacific Ocean, the Dutch had repeatedly, but without success, attempted to sail round the north of Asia, in an eastern direction, with the same object in view. These attempts had proved so uniformly unsuccessful, and had been attended with so little prospect of gaining the object in view, that they seem to have been given completely up, after Wood's failure in 1676; and geographers were disposed to believe that no passage existed, or at least was practicable, either from the Pacific into the Atlantic Ocean, or from the Atlantic into the Pacific, in high northern latitudes.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the question was again agitated; and the opinions of navigators seemed to lean to the idea, that a passage might be found, either through Hudson's or Baffin's Bay: this certainly was a reasonable conjecture; the extent and depth of these bays held out a rational expectation that they communicated either directly or by means of rivers with the Pacific Ocean. 17

order to explore them, with a view to ascertain whether this was really the case, Captain Middleton was sent out by government in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore in 1746; but nothing was done in either of these voyages, either to bring to a decision the grand point, or to promote other purposes of navigation or geography.

At the beginning of his present Majesty's reign, the idea of a northern communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans was again brought forward; and in order that the question might for ever be set to rest, it was determined to explore every part of the coasts of Europe, Asia, and America, through which this communication might exist. Lord Mulgrave was first sent out, in order to ascertain how far navigation was practicable towards the north pole: of this voyage an account has already been given; it may be sufficient to observe here, that though it failed in its principal object, yet it was of considerable service to science in several points of view.

There still remained two possible channels of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans; either on the north-east coast of America, through Hudson's or Baffin's Bay; or on the north-west coast of the same continent: it was generally supposed that the latter promised more favourably; at least less was known respecting this part of America. If therefore the attempt to find out the desired communication by this channel should fail, still it would be of great advantage to navigation and geography, by the information respecting the north-west coast of the new continent, which would necessarily be collected, while the attempt was carrying on. On this grand design—grand, both in respect to its main and leading object, and in respect to the benefits of an incidental and collateral nature, which were reasonably expected to flow from it, it was determined to employ Captain Cook: he had scarcely been in England eight months, since his return from

his second voyage, when he agreed to the proposal made to him by the earl of Sandwich, of undertaking a third voyage for the purpose of exploring a northern communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

In the instructions which were given to him, he was directed to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, through that cluster of islands, which he had discovered or visited in the southern tropic. As soon as he reached the northern latitudes of the Pacific Ocean, he was, in proceeding towards his grand object, to explore the north-west coast of America, for the purpose of discovery, as well as in order to ascertain, whether certain opinions maintained by geographers were correct, and certain places laid down by former navigators had an actual existence, or were accurately fixed as to their latitude and longitude. With respect to his grand object, it was determined, that when he reached the coast of New Albion, he should give up all subordinate enquiries and discoveries, and proceed directly northward as far as the latitude of 65 degrees. It was reasonably supposed, that if any communication existed between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, it was to be sought after on the coast of America, to the north of that latitude.

The two vessels fixed on for this voyage were the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*: Captain Cook had the command of the former, that of the latter was given to Captain Clerke. That this grand expedition might be complete in all its parts, and that its result might for ever settle the long-agitated question, respecting a communication between the two oceans in a high northern latitude, Lieutenant Pickersgill was sent out in 1776, to explore the coasts of Baffin's Bay; and in the following year, Lieutenant Young was sent out for the same purpose, with additional directions to examine the western part of that bay, and to endeavour to find a passage, on that side, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. These voyagers,

however, were of little benefit, either to the purposes of navigation or geography, or to the grand object of Captain Cook's expedition.

On the 12th of July, 1776, Captain Cook sailed from Plymouth Sound, having on board Omai, whom as the ships were to touch at Otaheite and the Society Islands, it was resolved to send back, by this opportunity. On the 18th of October, the Resolution came to anchor in Table Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope; where on the 10th of November the Discovery, which had not sailed from England till the 1st of August, joined her. On the 30th of November, Captain Cook having given a copy of his instructions to Captain Clerke, and at the same time directed him how to proceed, in case the two vessels should be separated, weighed anchor from Table Bay, and on the 3d of December got clear of the land. On the 12th of the same month two islands were seen: one about fifteen leagues in circumference, lying in latitude 46 deg. 53 min. south, and in longitude 37 deg. 46 min. east; the other about nine leagues in circumference, lying in latitude 46 deg. 4 min. south, and in longitude 38 deg. 8 min. east. These islands, with four others lying further to the east, had been discovered in 1772, during a voyage from the Cape of Good Hope to the Philippine Islands, by some French navigators, but as no names were assigned to them, Captain Cook called the larger ones Prince Edward's Islands; and to the smaller he gave the name of Marion's and Crozet's Islands, from the first discoverers of them.

On the 24th of December land was discovered, consisting of a high round rock, to which the name of Bligh's Cap was given: it lies in latitude 48 deg. 29 min. south; and in longitude 68 deg. 40 min. east. Soon after this Captain Cook had an opportunity of exploring Kerguelen's Land, which when first discovered by the French navigator whose name it bears, was supposed to belong to a southern continent: it



was proved to be an island of no great extent, the latitude of which did not much exceed one degree and a quarter: the longitude our navigator had not an opportunity of ascertaining. Had not a name been already given to it, Captain Cook, from its sterility, was disposed to have called it the Island of Desolation.

On the 31st of December he left this island, with an intention, according to his instructions, to touch at New Zealand: on the 26th of January, 1777, the ships came to anchor in Adventure Bay, in Van Diemen's Land. A few days afterwards some of the natives paid them a visit as they were cutting wood: they were completely naked, even without ornament: their hair and beards were smeared over with a red ointment: the only weapon they had among them consisted of a stick about two feet long and pointed at the end. The use of this, the native who held it discovered to Captain Cook, who signified by signs his wishes to that purpose: a piece of wood being set up as a mark, he threw at it, at the distance of about twenty yards; but after repeated trials, he did not succeed in hitting it. The most remarkable feature in the character of these savages, was their total want of curiosity: they expressed no satisfaction at the presents which were made them; indeed nothing seemed to attract their notice, or excite their desires, but two pigs which the captain had brought ashore, and which, having come within their reach, they endeavoured to seize and carry off. They had no knowledge or suspicion of the use of iron, and they were even ignorant of fish-hooks; what perhaps is still more extraordinary, though inhabiting the sea-coast, no canoe or vessel was discovered by which they could go upon the water.

On the 30th of January Captain Cook left Adventure Bay, and on the 12th of the following month he anchored in Queen Charlotte Sound in New Zealand: during his stay here, he was enabled to gain much

additional information respecting the manners, &c. of the people, and to correct some erroneous ideas on this subject, which he had taken up while he was here on his preceding voyage. He found them to be a people perfectly satisfied with the little that nature had bestowed upon them; curious neither in their observations nor enquiries: they were not, however, destitute of invention or ingenuity; on the contrary, in the arts with which they were acquainted, they displayed a considerable degree of skill and adroitness, and executed well whatever their wants demanded. Totally ignorant of the use or the existence of the metals, they nevertheless contrived to make every thing that was necessary for their subsistence, their clothing, and their defence; but their art and skill were chiefly manifested in the manufacture and structure of their weapons, of which they possessed a great variety. Indeed war seemed their principal employment, and in the dexterity of using their weapons, they seemed to consider their greatest merit lay. They are extremely susceptible of a sense of any injury done to them, or affront offered to them: they immediately let it be known, that they consider themselves aggrieved, and seize the first opportunity to avenge themselves. Captain Cook ascertained beyond a doubt that they eat the flesh of their enemies, not merely without reluctance, but even with satisfaction; and that they live in a continual state of contention and warfare. While, however, they are thus savage and inhuman towards their enemies. towards those who are related or friendly to them, they display much more fondness and affection, than would be expected from their general character: their feelings are particularly called forth, and manifested in a most unequivocal manner, on the death of their friends: on these occasions the violence of the expression of their grief argues the most tender remembrance of them.

Captain Cook having left Queen Charlotte's Sound, on the 25th of February, got clear of the coast of

New Zealand by the 27th of that month. On the 29th of March he discovered an island, called by the natives Maugeea, lying in the latitude of 21 deg. 57 min. south, and in the longitude of 201 deg. 53 min. east; the inhabitants resembled those of Otaheite in the beauty of their persons, and apparently in their disposition and character. The next island discovered by our navigators is called Watteo by the natives, who also resemble the people of Otaheite and the neighbouring isles. After having explored several other islands lying contiguous, but not being able at any of them to obtain a supply of water and of grass, he determined to direct his course towards the Friendly Islands, where he was certain of being abundantly provided.

From the observations which he made during this part of his voyage, Captain Cook was led to the opinion, that the low islands, which are so numerous in the Great Pacific Ocean, are formed from shoals, or coral banks, and consequently that they are regularly and constantly increasing in size. On the 1st of May he arrived at Annamooka, and anchored in the very place which he had occupied when he visited the country three years before: here he continued till the 11th, when the island being exhausted of its articles of food, he proceeded to another island called Hippaee, lying to the north-east. In this and others of the Friendly Islands Captain Cook stayed between two and three months, and was enabled to make large additions to the geographical knowledge of this part of the Pacific Ocean. "Under the denomination of the Friendly Islands must be included not only the group at Hapaee, but all those islands that have been discovered nearly under the same meridian to the north, as well as some others which, though they have never hitherto been seen by any European voyagers, are under the dominion of the king of the Friendly islands." This archipelago is very extensive, as the natives enumerated above one

hundred and fifty islands, fifteen of which they described as hilly, and thirty-five as large. The natural history and productions of the country, as well as the manners and customs of the people, were also more extensively and accurately ascertained by Captain Cook during his stay at the Friendly Islands. On their thievish disposition Captain Cook makes the following remarks, which do equal honour to his sagacity, humanity, and candour: "The only defect," he observes, "sullyng their character, that we know of, is a propensity to thieving, to which we found those of all ages and both sexes addicted, and that to an uncommon degree. It should, however, be considered, that this exceptionable part of their conduct seemed to exist merely with respect to us; for in their general intercourse with one another, I had reason to be of opinion that thefts do not happen more frequently (perhaps less so) than in other countries, the dishonest practices of whose worthless individuals are not supposed to authorize any indiscriminate censure on the whole body of the people. Great allowance should be made for the foibles of these poor natives of the Pacific Ocean, whose minds we overpowered with the glare of objects equally new to them as they were captivating. Stealing among the civilized nations of the world may well be considered as denoting a character deeply stained with moral turpitude, with avarice unrestrained by the known rules of right, and with profligacy producing extreme indigence, and neglecting the means of relieving it. But, at the Friendly and other Islands which we visited, the thefts, so frequently committed by the natives, of what we had brought along with us, may be fairly traced to less culpable motives. They seemed to arise solely from an intense curiosity or desire to possess something which they had not been accustomed to before, and belonging to a sort of people so different from themselves. And, perhaps, if it were possible that a set of beings, seemingly as su-

perior in our judgment as we are in theirs, should appear amongst us, it might be doubted whether our natural regard to justice would be able to restrain many from falling into the same error. That I have assigned the true motive for their propensity to this practice, appears from their stealing every thing indiscriminately at first sight, before they could have the least conception of converting their prize to any one useful purpose. But, I believe, with us, no person would forfeit his reputation, or expose himself to punishment, without knowing, before hand, how to employ his stolen goods. Upon the whole, the pilfering disposition of these islanders, though certainly disagreeable and troublesome to strangers, was the means of affording us some information as to the quickness of their intellects."

Captain Cook left the Friendly Islands on the 17th of July, and on the 12th of August he arrived at Otaheite: during his stay here, he neglected no opportunity of gaining additional information respecting the manners and customs of the inhabitants: in his former voyage he had entertained doubts whether human sacrifices were a part of their religious institutions: but these doubts were now unfortunately put an end to; as he himself was a witness to a ceremony of this nature. Still, however, there was one point of considerable importance connected with this subject, on which Captain Cook could gain no clear and accurate information. The victim was a middle-aged man, and was represented as belonging to the lowest order of the people: but whether he had been fixed upon, because he had committed any crime deemed worthy of death, or for some other cause, could not be ascertained. It was, however, generally learnt, that the human sacrifices were chosen, either from the lowest classes of the inhabitants, or were such men as had been condemned by the laws or customs of the country. No previous notice is given to the destined victim: the chiefs fix upon him, and

give their orders to their followers, who fall upon him with clubs and stones, and put him to instant death. Captain Cook particularly describes the manner in which he was cured of a rheumatic complaint, while he was in Otaheite: the pain was very acute and constant, and extended from the hip to the foot. He laid himself down on the cabin floor, among several of the natives, according to their directions, when they began to squeeze him with their hands, from head to foot, but principally about the parts which were affected: they performed this operation with so much violence, as to make his bones crack, and continued it till they made his flesh a complete mummy. After he had submitted to this for a quarter of an hour, he felt great relief from his pain, and he was tolerably easy during the whole of the succeeding night. When this operation had been repeated two or three times, the rheumatism was removed, and his cure completed.

On the 12th of October Captain Cook arrived at Owharre harbour, on the west side of Huahane, where he intended to leave Omai, who had a brother, sister, and brother-in-law here: by them he was received after his long absence with great affection and tenderness; but Omai had nothing in his manners, behaviour, or talents to command the respect of his countrymen, or even to be of much service in teaching them what he learnt in England, or the use of the things which he had brought from that country. On the 2d of November Omai took his final leave of Captain Cook, and on the same day the ships sailed for Ulietca. The last of the Society Islands which Captain Cook visited was Bolabola, where, as well as in most of the other islands at which he touched, he left such a stock of animals as he thought would be sufficient for them, giving directions to the inhabitants respecting the care and management of them.

Seventeen months had now passed over since our

navigator had left England; and though many important discoveries had been made in that time, and much that was imperfect in our knowledge of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, supplied or connected, yet with respect to the principal object of his instructions, his voyage could only now be said to be commencing. On the 24th of December he crossed the line between the longitude of 203 and 204 degrees east, and almost immediately afterwards a low uninhabited island was discovered, which appeared to be about fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference, and to which the name of Christmas Island was given. On the 18th of January, 1778, an island was discovered, and soon afterwards more land was seen, unconnected with the former, and lying further to the north: a third island was distinguished on the succeeding day, at a very considerable distance from the other two. Captain Cook directed his course to the second island, which he found to be inhabited: the natives soon came on board the ships: their language was very similar to that of Otaheite; and it was abundantly evident, from the extreme astonishment which they expressed, that they had never seen a ship or Europeans before. Indeed their surprise and curiosity at every thing they witnessed, was infinitely greater than Captain Cook had ever witnessed in the natives of any place which he had visited. They were even ignorant of the nature and uses of iron, though they seemed to have heard of it, and to have some obscure and faint notion that it would answer many purposes of cutting or boring holes, better than any thing that they possessed. It was soon ascertained that the natives of this island were eaters of human flesh: indeed, not conceiving the practice to be improper, nor understanding the reason of the horror which the English manifested at the very idea, when questioned upon the subject, they answered immediately in the affirmative, and laughed at the simplicity of our men, because they

expressed a doubt about it. An old man, in particular, on being asked, whether he eat human flesh, not only replied that he and his countrymen did, but even added, that it was excellent food, or as his language expressed it, "savoury eating." It was, however, ascertained, that this custom was confined to enemies slain in battle. By seventy-two sets of lunar observations, Captain Cook determined the longitude of these islands to be between 199 degrees 20 minutes, and 201 degrees, 30 minutes east: the latitude of them is between 21 degrees, 30 minutes, and 22 minutes, 15 degrees north. They are five in number, and to the whole cluster Captain Cook gave the name of the Sandwich Islands, in honour of the earl of Sandwich, then first lord of the Admiralty, and the great friend and patron of our navigator.

The largest of these islands is called Atooi by the natives: it did not resemble in the least any of the islands which our navigators had as yet explored on the south side of the equator within the tropic. No tame or domestic animals were found in it, or indeed in the rest of this group, except hogs, dogs and fowls, which were exactly of the same kind and description as those which exist in the countries of the South Pacific Ocean. With respect to the inhabitants, there was less diversity in their size, colour and figure, than Captain Cook had observed in most other places: they seemed to be possessed of great cheerfulness of disposition, and frankness of manners; remote on the one hand, from the levity and thoughtlessness of the natives of Otaheite, and from the gloomy sedateness of those of Tongataboo: but what distinguished and raised their character in the highest degree was, the delicate and particular attention, which they paid to their women; unlike most savage nations, the female sex, among them, was not only exempted from drudgery, but was even assisted by the men, in many of the tender offices of maternal duty. There was another peculiarity which



distinguished them : all the countries which had hitherto been discovered in the Pacific Ocean, had the practice of perforating the ears ; but the natives of the Sandwich Islands were totally ignorant of it ; and though like other savages, they are very fond of adorning and ornamenting the other parts of their persons, they had not the least idea of decorating their ears. In several of the arts which were necessary for their subsistence, they had made a considerable progress : they were by no means strangers to agriculture, as was sufficiently evidenced by the variety and goodness of their vegetable productions ; and their fishing hooks were formed and polished, even by their rude and imperfect tools, in a manner that would not have disgraced an European artist.

On the 7th of March, the coast of New Albion, which had long been looked for with anxious expectation, was discovered, the vessels being at that time in the latitude of  $44^{\circ}$ ,  $33'$  north, and in the longitude of  $235^{\circ}$ ,  $20'$  east. Captain Cook continued to range along the coast of America, giving names to the different capes and head-lands, till the 29th, when he perceived the country differed very much from what had been seen before : he therefore came to anchor in an inlet, and made preparations for landing and exploring the coast. This part of America was very mountainous, and the hills at their summits were covered with snow : the valleys between the mountains, and the whole of the sea coast, presented a beautiful and interesting prospect, as of one vast forest, of high and strait trees. Very soon after the ships had come to an anchor the natives made their appearance, and a trade with them was immediately begun in the skins of bears, wolves, foxes, deer, racoons, polecats, martins, and particularly sea otters ; but the most extraordinary merchandise which they offered for sale, were human skulls and hands, with some of the flesh still remaining on them : from this circumstance, and from evident marks of their having

been upon the fire, little doubt could be entertained that the natives of this country were eaters of human flesh. In exchange for these articles, they particularly sought after any kind of metal: they would also accept looking-glasses, or buttons: but glass beads, they were by no means partial to; and as they had a kind of cloth of their own, formed from the bark of a tree, they rejected every sort of cloth that was offered them.

They were much addicted to thieving, and by means of their dexterity, and the sharp instruments that they possessed, they were enabled to indulge this propensity to a very troublesome and formidable extent. After the commercial intercourse had gone on for some time, they would accept of no metal except brass, so that, before the vessels sailed, the buttons were stripped off whole suits of cloths and bureaus were deprived of their furniture; and there was scarcely a copper kettle, or brass candlestick to be found.

It has often been remarked, that a notion of property seldom exists in any very clear or strict degree among savage and uncivilized nations: but the inhabitants of this part of America had uncommonly rigid ideas on this subject. Every thing existing on their land, they conceived, belonged exclusively to them; even the wood and water which Captain Cook took for the use of the ships, they at first refused to part with, unless they were paid for them; and the grass which was necessary for the food of the few goats and sheep that still remained on board, they insisted should be purchased at a most exorbitant rate, notwithstanding they had themselves no manner of use for it.

While the ships were undergoing a complete repair, in order that they might be in a condition to prosecute the grand object of the expedition, Captain Cook examined every part of the Sound, and gained a good deal of knowledge respecting the country and the in-

habitants. The mode in which he generally was received by them, when he entered their villages was, by their assembling in a body, and joining in a song. Their singing was by no means harsh or disagreeable; on the contrary, there was something pleasing and melodious in it, and they kept time by regular motions of their hands, while they were singing. When they sing in their canoes on their approach to the ships, some of them were employed in beating in concert with their paddles; while the whole of them, as well those who sung, as those whose business it was to beat time, discovered by their expressive gestures, that they were not insensible to the powers and influence of music.

The Sound in which the vessels lay, Captain Cook, on his first arrival, had called King George's Sound; by the natives it is called Nootka: it lies in the latitude of 49 degrees, 33 minutes north, and in the longitude of 233 degrees, 12 minutes east. Every thing about this country and its inhabitants, was different from what had been observed in the islands of the Southern Ocean. One of the first circumstances that struck our navigators was, the mildness of the climate, compared with that on the east coast of America; it was, indeed, more similar to the climate in a corresponding latitude in Europe. Although it was now only the middle of April, the thermometer, in the night, was never below 42 degrees; and in the day time, it was frequently as high as 60 degrees. In the vegetables and animals, there was nothing very remarkable: fishes were much more numerous and varied than birds; the insect tribe seemed to thrive and abound.

The inhabitants were rather low in stature, and full and plump rather than muscular: they seemed to be docile, good-natured and courteous; rather dull of apprehension, and phlegmatic in their temper: with little curiosity, and a great deal of indolence. The men were principally employed in procuring food,

and the women in manufacturing clothes for their families; their food consisted principally of fish, and of a few land animals: their clothes were made of flax or wool. It was observable, that while the men discovered no sense of shame, the women were very retired and modest in their manners, being always decently clothed, and exhibiting the greatest decorum in their behaviour. Iron tools are very commonly used by the men, with considerable skill and dexterity; and many of their works in wood, performed by means of those tools, displayed taste in the design as well as ingenuity in the execution. Captain Cook took a deal of pains to learn whence they obtained the iron with which their tools were made, but he could gain no clear or satisfactory information on this point.

On the 27th of April, our navigators left Nootka Sound; and on the 11th of May, an island was discovered and visited, lying in the latitude of 59 degrees 49 minutes north, and in the longitude of 216 degrees 58 minutes east: to this island Captain Cook gave the name of Kaye's Island. On the 12th of this month, the ships came to an anchor in an inlet, to which the name of Prince William's Sound was given: the natives of this part of America, in their appearance and their manners, bore a very striking resemblance to the Esquimeaux and Greenlanders. Their canoes, weapons, and the instruments they made use of in hunting and fishing, were also similar to those employed by the inhabitants of Greenland.

Hitherto none of the inlets which had been discovered or visited, exhibited any signs of extending far into the land, and consequently bore no promise of facilitating or accomplishing the grand object of the voyage; but a few days after leaving Prince William's Sound, an inlet was discovered, which at first sight, it was hoped would communicate either with the sea to the north, or with Hudson's or Bat-

fin's Bay to the east: it was therefore examined and explored with the greatest care and minuteness; but the result was, that it was proved to be a river, of great size and extent. It was traced as high as the latitude of 61 degrees 30 minutes, and the longitude 210 degrees, upwards of seventy leagues from where it entered the ocean. To this great river, Captain Cook assigned no name in his journal or chart; the Earl of Sandwich, therefore, directed that it should be called Cook's River. The inhabitants in the neighbourhood of this river resembled those of Prince William's Sound, in their persons and in their language: they were clothed, in general, with the skins of the sea-otter; a sufficient proof that they had no commercial intercourse with any European nations, since in that case they would learn the value of their skins, and employ them for the purposes of barter, not of clothing.

On the 6th of June, the ships got clear of Cook's River; and on the 27th they arrived at an island, called by the natives Oonalashka: it is situated in the latitude of 53 degrees 55 minutes north, and in the longitude of 193 degrees 30 minutes east. The inhabitants appeared to be no strangers to Europeans, and behaved with a degree of propriety, not to say politeness, very uncommon among savages: the Russians evidently had visited them, and from them they probably had received a tincture of European manners, as well as the European manufactures which they possessed; and the value and use of which they seemed thoroughly to understand.

On the 16th of July, they came in sight of a high land, which on examination proved to be a more rocky point, of tolerable height, situated in the latitude of 58 degrees 40 minutes, and in the longitude of 197 degrees 36 minutes; the farthest part of the coast, that could be seen from this promontory, bore nearly north: the name of Cape Newnam was given to it. On the 2d of August, land was seen at

a distance, supposed to be an island: Captain Cook honoured it with the appellation of Anderson's Island, in order to commemorate Mr. Anderson, the surgeon of the *Resolution*, a young man of very considerable talents and of great acquirements, who died a very short time before this land was discovered. On the 9th, the most western extremity of America, at that time explored, was seen: it consisted of a point of land, to which the name of Cape Prince of Wales was given: it is situated in the latitude of 65 degrees 46 minutes, and in the longitude of 191 degrees 45 minutes: the distance between it and the Eastern Cape of Siberia is only thirteen leagues. Soon after this, Captain Cook had an opportunity of rectifying a mistake in geography, which had been committed in the Russian map of Mr. Steehlin: according to this map, an imaginary island, to which the name of Analaschka is given, occupies a space, which is actually filled by the American continent.

Our navigators had now the two continents of Asia and America on each side of them; and they continued stretching from one to the other, till they reached the latitude of 70 degrees 53 minutes, in the longitude of 197 degrees 41 minutes. Here they met with a large field of ice, which was at least ten or twelve feet high, and very rugged on its surface. Captain Cook was a good deal surprised, and disappointed at meeting with ice so soon; and he began to apprehend that his progress further northward would soon be stopped: he continued, however, till the 29th, to traverse this sea beyond Bhering's Straits, in different directions, the ice every day increasing, and rendering the navigation more difficult and dangerous. As the season was now beginning to be improper for a much longer continuance in these high latitudes, Captain Cook resolved to defer till the subsequent summer, all further search after a passage into the Atlantic, and to direct his course again towards the south. He still, however, had time to examine nar-

rowly and carefully, the coast as he returned; and the result of this examination was, that he ascertained and confirmed the accuracy of Bhering, corrected the errors of Steehlin's map, and made large additions to the geographical knowledge of this part of the world. Mr. Coxe, in his comparative view of the Russian discoveries, very justly observes, that "it reflects the highest honour on the British name, that our great navigator extended his discoveries much farther in one expedition, and at so great a distance from the point of his departure, than the Russians accomplished in a long series of years, and in parts belonging, or contiguous to, their own empire."

On the 3d of October, the ships anchored in a harbour in the Island of Oonalashka: during his stay here, Captain Cook, according to his invariable custom, took every opportunity of enquiring into the productions of the island, and into the manners of its inhabitants. Of the former, nothing remarkable was noticed: respecting the inhabitants, our navigator observes, that they are the most peaceable and inoffensive he had ever met with; and that they are most particularly and honourably distinguished by their honesty, so that in this respect, they might serve as a pattern to countries that are in the highest state of civilization. One circumstance struck him, as affording a presumptive proof, that there is a considerable intercourse between Baffin's Bay, the west coast of America, and the neighbouring coast and islands of Asia. The language of the people of Norton's Sound, a large inlet, extending to the northward, as far as the latitude of 64 degrees 55 minutes, and of Oonalashka, is extremely similar to the dialects of the Greenlanders and Esquimeaux; so that it is probable that all these nations are of the same extraction.

On the 26th of October the ships sailed for the Sandwich Islands; and on the 26th of the subsequent month, having reached the latitude of 20 degrees 55

minutes, one of the group of these islands, which had not previously been visited, was discovered; it is called by the natives Mowee. On the 30th of the same month, the island of Owhyhee was seen; and as it appeared so much more extensive than any other of the Sandwich Islands, Captain Cook resolved to explore it thoroughly: for this purpose, he spent nearly seven weeks in sailing round and examining its coasts; during this period, a regular and friendly communication was kept up with the natives, who appeared to be completely free from suspicion, and more frank and open in their manners and behaviour than any he had visited, not even excepting the inhabitants of Otaheite. They gave evident proofs, however, of a thievish disposition, and it required great care and constant vigilance to prevent them from exercising it to the detriment of the ship, as well as to the loss of the ship's company. Still our navigator entertained such a favourable opinion of the natives of Owhyhee, that the last sentence which he wrote in his journal, is the following, referring to the want of success which had attended his endeavours to get homeward, the preceding summer, by a northern passage: "To this disappointment," he observes, "we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery which, though the last, seemed in many respects to be the most important, that had hitherto been made by Europeans, throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean."

On the 4th of February, 1779, the ships sailed from this island: on the 6th the Resolution having sprung her foremast in a gale of wind, it was judged necessary to put back into the same harbour from which they had sailed, as this was the most convenient place to repair the damage. The communication between the ship's company and the natives was carried on in the usual friendly manner, till the 13th, when their thefts became more daring and serious? and they paid little attention even to the mus-



kets which were fired at them in order to intimidate and check them. On the 14th they took away the Discovery's large cutter: Captain Cook was resolved to recover the boat, and for that purpose went on shore; at first he hoped he should succeed in his object, at least there appeared no symptoms of hostility; although he had secured the person of Kariopoo, one of the chiefs, as the most effectual step to recover the cutter. Soon, however, the crowd increased, and no doubt could any longer be entertained, that the situation of Captain Cook, and those on shore with him, was very alarming and hazardous. It became absolutely necessary to fire on the Indians as he proceeded towards the shore, off which the boats lay; before he could reach them, the marines, without waiting for orders, being provoked by a volley of stones, which were thrown in among them, returned it with a general discharge of musketry, which was instantly followed by a fire from the boats. The subsequent part of this dreadful catastrophe, we shall give in the words of Mr. Samwell, who published "A Narrative of the Death of Captain Cook."

"At this instant Captain Cook was heard to express his astonishment: he waved his hand to the boats, called to them to cease firing, and to come nearer in to receive the marines. Mr. Roberts immediately brought the pinnace as close to the shore as he could without grounding, notwithstanding the showers of stones that fell among the people; but—the lieutenant who commanded in the launch, instead of pulling in to the assistance of Captain Cook, withdrew his boat farther off, at the moment that every thing seems to have depended upon the timely exertions of those in the boats. By his own account he mistook the signal; but be that as it may, this circumstance appears to me to have decided the fatal turn of the affair, and to have removed every chance which remained with Captain Cook, of escaping with his life. The business of saving the marines out of the

water, in consequence of that, fell altogether upon the pinnaces, which thereby became so much crowded, that the crew were in a great measure prevented from using their fire-arms, or giving what assistance they otherwise might have done, to Captain Cook; so that he seems at the most critical point of time, to have wanted the assistance of both boats, owing to the removal of the launch. For, notwithstanding that they kept up a fire on the crowd from the situation to which they removed in that boat, the fatal confusion which ensued on her being withdrawn, to say the least of it, must have prevented the full effect that the prompt co-operation of the two boats, according to Captain Cook's orders, must have had towards the preservation of himself and his people. At that time, it was to the boats alone, that Captain Cook had to look for his safety: for when the marines had fired, the Indians rushed among them, and forced them into the water, where four of them were killed, their lieutenant was wounded, but fortunately escaped, and was taken up by the pinnace. Captain Cook was then the only one remaining on the rock: he was observed making for the pinnace, holding his left hand against the back of his head, to guard it from the stones, and carrying his musket under his other arm. An Indian was seen following him, but with caution and timidity: for he stopt once or twice as if undetermined to proceed. At last he advanced upon him unawares, and with a large club, or common stake, gave him a blow on the back of the head, and then precipitately retreated. The stroke seemed to have stunned Captain Cook; he staggered a few paces, then fell on his hand and one knee, and dropped his musket. As he was rising, and before he could recover his feet, another Indian stabbed him in the back of the neck with an iron dagger. He then fell into a bit of water about knee deep, where others crowded upon him, and endeavoured to keep him under; but struggling very strongly with them, he

got his head up, and casting his looks towards the pinnacle, seemed to solicit assistance. Though the boat was not above five or six yards distance from him, yet from the crowded and confused state of the crew, it seems it was not in their power to save him. The Indians got him under again, but in deeper water: he was, however, able to get his head up once more, and being almost spent in the struggle, he naturally turned to the rock, and was endeavouring to support himself by it when a savage gave him a blow with a club, and he was seen alive no more. They hauled him up lifeless on the rocks, where they seemed to take a savage pleasure in using every barbarity to his dead body, snatching the daggers out of each other's hands, to have the horrid satisfaction of piercing the fallen victim of their barbarous rage."

Notwithstanding every means were used, only the bones of Captain Cook could be recovered; these being put into a coffin, were committed to the deep, on the 21st of February, amidst feelings of distress and sorrow of the most sincere and poignant nature.

In consequence of the decease of Captain Cook, a promotion of officers necessarily took place: Captain Clerke assumed the command of the *Resolution*, and appointed Lieutenant Gore, captain of the *Discovery*: as a lieutenantcy was rendered vacant by this promotion, Mr. Hervey, a midshipman, who had been in the last as well as the present voyage, obtained that rank.

Captain Clerke lost no time in leaving the Sandwich Islands, in order that he might prosecute the great object of the expedition while the season was favourable: before, however, he left them, he explored them more minutely and thoroughly, so that little remained to be discovered or ascertained respecting them by future navigators. From these islands, the ships proceeded, without any thing very material or interesting occurring, to Kamtschatka, where they were received and entertained in the most hospitable and friendly manner by the Russian officers, and in

particular by Major Behm, who commanded the garrison of Bolcharetsk. On the 13th of June they sailed from Kamtschatka, steering to the northward; they had not proceeded far, before they fell in with ice, and had reason to apprehend that their further voyage and discoveries would be prevented by the same cause which had put a stop to them in the preceding year. On the 19th of July they reached the furthest point north which they were able to penetrate. Their latitude at this time was 70 degrees 33 minutes, and their longitude 196 degrees 15 minutes; the Icy Cape, which they had seen in their former voyages, being about seven or eight leagues distant. After several other attempts on the American coast, Captain Clerke resolved to make his final efforts in search of a passage on the coast of the Asiatic continent: here, however, he was again obstructed by the ice, and the Discovery received very considerable damage from it. In consequence of this circumstance, and of the ships being encompassed by loose masses of ice, while the main body of it was in view, stretching, as far as the eye could reach, in the direction of north by west, and south by east, Captain Clerke determined to return to the southward, proceeding in the first place to the bay of Awatska, in order to repair the damages the vessels had sustained, and afterwards to survey the coast of Japan. The following comparative view of the progress made to the northward, at the two different seasons at which they were occupied in that pursuit, deserves to be given entire.

“ In the year 1778, we did not discover the ice till we advanced to the latitude of 70 degrees on the 17th of August; and we then found it in compact bodies, which extended as far as the eye could discern, and of which the whole, or a part, was moveable; since, by its drifting down upon our ships, we were almost hemmed in between that and the land. After we had experienced both, how fruitless and dangerous it

would be to attempt to penetrate farther to the northward, between the land and the ice; we stood over towards the side of Asia, between the latitudes of 69 and 70 degrees; after encountering in this tract very large fields of ice, and though the fogs and thickness of the weather prevented us from entirely tracing a connected line of it across, yet we were certain of meeting with it before it reached the latitude of 70 degrees, whenever we made any attempts to stand to the north.

“On the 26th of August, in the latitude of  $69\frac{3}{4}$  degrees, and the longitude of 184 degrees, we were obstructed by it in such quantities, that we could not pass either to the north or west, and were under the necessity of running along the edge of it to the south-south-west, till we perceived land, which proved to be the Asiatic coast. With the seasons thus far advanced, the weather setting in with snow and sleet, and other indications of the approach of winter, we relinquished our enterprise for that time.

“In our second attempt we did little more but confirm the remarks made in our first; for we never had an opportunity of approaching the continent of Asia higher than 67 degrees of latitude, nor that of America in any parts, except a few leagues between the latitude of 68 degrees, and 68 degrees 20 minutes, that we had not seen in the preceding year. We now met with obstruction from ice 3 degrees lower; and our efforts to make farther progress to the northward were chiefly confined to the middle space between the two coasts. We penetrated near 3 degrees farther on the side of America than that of Asia, coming up with the ice both years sooner, and in more considerable quantities on the latter coast. As we advanced in our northerly course, we found the ice more solid and compact: however, as in our different traverses from one side to the other, we passed over spaces which had before been covered with it, we imagined that the greatest part of what we saw was moveable.

Its height, at a medium, we estimated at eight or ten feet, and that of the highest at sixteen or eighteen. We again examined the currents twice, and found that they were unequal, though they never exceeded one mile an hour. We likewise found the currents to set different ways, but more from the south-west than from any other quarter; yet, whatever their direction might be, their effect was so inconsiderable, that no conclusions with respect to the existence of any passage towards the north, could possibly be drawn from them.

“ We found July infinitely colder than August. The thermometer in the first of these months was once at 28 degrees, and very frequently at 30 degrees, whereas, during the last year, it was very uncommon in August to have it so low as the freezing point. In both seasons we experienced some high winds, all of which blew from the south-west. Whenever the wind was moderate from any quarter, we were subject to fogs; but they were observed to attend southerly winds more constantly than others.

“ The Straits between the American and Asiatic continents at their nearest approach, in the latitude of 66 degrees, were ascertained by us to be thirteen leagues, beyond which, they diverge to north-east by east, and west-north-west; and in the latitude of 69 degrees, their distance from each other is about three hundred miles. In the aspect of the two countries to the north of the Straits, a great resemblance is observable. Both of them are destitute of wood. The shores are low, with mountains further inland rising to a great height. The soundings in the midway between them were twenty-nine and thirty fathoms, gradually decreasing as we approached either continent; with this difference, however, that the water was somewhat shallower on the coast of America, than on that of Asia, at an equal distance from the land. The bottom, towards the middle, was a soft, slimy mud; and near either shore, it was a brown-

ish sand, intermixed with a few shells and small fragments of bones. We found but little tide or current, and that little came from the west."

Within a month after Captain Clerke had come to the determination to return to the southward, he died of a consumption; and Captain Gore succeeded to the command of the *Resolution*, and Lieutenant King to that of the *Discovery*. After the damages which the ships had sustained from the ice, had been repaired in Kamtschatka, it became necessary to determine on some plan of future operations: it had been originally intended to navigate the sea between Asia and Japan; but, on taking into consideration the condition of the ships, this plan was given up, and it was judged most safe and prudent to steer to the east of that island, examining during their voyage thither the Kurile Isles, and particularly those islands which are situated to the northern coast of Japan. This plan was followed up exactly, and many important observations and discoveries were made respecting the coasts of this celebrated island; till the 3d of November, when Captain Gore, considering the advanced period of the year, and the uncertain state of the weather, came to the determination of leaving Japan, and prosecuting his voyage directly to China. Nothing deserving of particular notice remains to be narrated. The ships came to an anchor at Stromness on the 22d of May, 1780; and arrived at the Nore on the 4th of October. They had been absent four years two months and twenty-two days. During the whole of this voyage, the *Resolution* lost only five men by sickness; three of whom, when she left England, were by no means in a healthy state. The *Discovery* did not lose a single man.

One of the most useful vegetable productions that had been discovered during the voyages to the Pacific Ocean, undertaken by command of his present Majesty, is the bread-fruit tree. As the climate of the islands where it was found to flourish, was similar to

that of the West India Islands, a design was formed to transplant it to the latter. Accordingly, it having been represented to the board of Admiralty, in the year 1787, that an essential benefit might be derived, by introducing the bread-fruit as an article of food into the West Indies, a ship was ordered to be fitted out for that purpose: every accommodation was made on board her, to receive and preserve the plants: she was a vessel of two hundred and fifteen tons burden, called the *Bounty*; the command of her was given to Lieutenant William Bligh, who had sailed in the capacity of master with Captain Cook, in his voyages of discovery. The crew consisted of forty-six men.

According to his instructions, Captain Bligh was to proceed round Cape Horn to the Society Islands, where he was to take on board the *Bounty* as many of the bread-fruit trees as he might think necessary: from the Society Islands he was to proceed through Endeavour Straits to Prince's Island in the Straits of Sunda, or to some port in the north or east of Java, according to circumstances. The object he was to have in view, in thus touching at Prince's Island or Java, was to examine the plants, and to replace such as appeared to have been injured, or had perished, by the fruit-trees of that quarter of the world, as well as by that particular species of rice, which grows on dry land. After having done this, he was to proceed by the Cape of Good Hope to the West Indies, and leave one half of the plants at his Majesty's botanical garden in the Island of St. Vincent, for the benefit of the Windward Islands; and to deliver the remainder at Jamaica, for the use of that and the neighbouring islands. As it was the end of November before the *Bounty* left England, Captain Bligh had discretionary orders from the Admiralty, if he found it dangerous to go round Cape Horn, to proceed by the Cape of Good Hope: this latter track he was obliged to pursue, having met with the most stormy weather about the middle of March, when he arrived off the



coast of Terra del Fuego. While the *Bounty* continued at the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Bligh took on board such seeds as he thought would thrive, and be useful at Otaheite. On the 1st of July he left the Cape, and directed his course towards New Holland; off the southern promontory of which, he arrived on the 19th of August. On this part of New Holland, very large forest trees were found, some of which run up to the amazing height of one hundred and fifty feet: the girth of one that was measured was thirty-two feet. The wood is very firm, and seems well adapted to ship-building; but it is much too heavy and solid for masts. As the leading object of Captain Bligh's voyage was to benefit and enrich the different countries at which he might touch, by the introduction of new and useful vegetables, Mr. Nelson, the botanist planted some apple and other fruit-trees, and sowed various kinds of seeds, before they left New Holland.

On the 26th of October, the *Bounty* arrived at Matavai Bay, in the Island of Otaheite: no time was lost by Mr. Bligh, in executing the object of his voyage; and in this he was very cheerfully assisted by the natives. By the 31st of March, 1789, he had collected as many trees and plants as he could conveniently stow in the ship: the number of bread-fruit plants amounted to one thousand and fifteen, and they were contained in seven hundred and seventy-four pots, thirty-nine tubs, and twenty-six boxes: besides these, he took on board several other kinds, which he thought would be advantageous to the West Indies. All his exertions and endeavours, however, were destined to prove utterly without effect; for a very short time after he had left Otaheite, a conspiracy was formed on board the *Bounty*: at the head of this conspiracy was Mr. Christian, one of the mates; and it had been so well arranged, that no suspicion was entertained of its existence or formation. The motive which induced Christian and

his associates to enter into this conspiracy, was soon manifest they had been so completely won over by the sensual pleasures of Otaheite, that they resolved, at whatever risk, or by the commission of whatever act of injustice, to return thither. Captain Bligh remonstrated with them, but without being able to make the smallest impression: their resolution was taken; their plan was formed; Christian ordered the boatswain to hoist the launch out, and Mr. Bligh, with sixteen of his officers and crew, were directed to go on board her. Their whole stock of provisions consisted of one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, sixteen pieces of pork, six quarts of rum, and twenty-eight gallons of water; a small quantity of twine, some canvass, lines, and cordage; and a quadrant and compass were also given them; but they were not permitted to take any chart, by which they might have directed or ascertained their course. After making an unsuccessful attempt to land at Zofoa, it was determined that they should steer for New Holland, or the Island of Timor; from the latter they reckoned they were distant about one thousand two hundred leagues. In order that their provisions might hold out as long as possible, it was agreed by the whole crew, that no more than an ounce of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water should be issued to each person per day.

The dreadfulness of their situation; independently of their future prospects, may easily be conceived: the boat in which they were, was only twenty-three feet in length, six feet nine inches in breadth, and two feet nine inches deep, heavily laden: they were exposed to constant wet and cold, and had not room to stretch their limbs, so that they soon became dreadfully cramped. Till the 10th of May, the weather had been tolerably favourable; but on that day, it became extremely boisterous: the rain was heavy and incessant; the sea broke repeatedly over the boat, so as to oblige the crew to be constantly employed in

baling it out. As they had no means of securing their bread, it became spoilt by the salt water; their clothes, continually drenched, they could not gain any refreshment from the little sleep they permitted themselves to take. The consequences of this situation soon became apparent; many of them were attacked with violent pains in their bowels, and with shiverings all over their bodies. To remedy the latter as much as possible, they stripped off their clothes, and wrung them in salt water; these, when put on again, produced a temporary warmth, which refreshed and invigorated them.

The effect of their situation, their labours and fatigue, and the prospect before them, was, however, greater and more alarming on their spirits than on their bodily health. As it was of the utmost consequence that their thoughts should dwell as slightly and as little as possible on their condition, Mr. Bligh contrived at first to draw them off, by relating to them a description of New Guinea and New Holland: but this soon lost its effect; they drooped more and more every day; there seemed little prospect of speedy relief, and their stock of provisions was rapidly decreasing. On the 24th of May, it became absolutely necessary to reduce their miserable pittance; and it was agreed that, for the future, each person should receive one twenty-fifth part of a pound of bread for breakfast, and an equal quantity for dinner: by this arrangement, they calculated that they would have forty-three days provisions. On the next day, several noddies and other sea-fowl were seen; some of these they caught: but, in another point of view, these birds were welcome to them, since they were a sure indication that land was at no great distance. The weather also became now more serene: when this change first took place, they anticipated much refreshment and relaxation from their fatigue; but though in one respect it was beneficial, as they were no longer under the necessity of so constantly

baling the water out of the boat, yet in another respect it was prejudicial to them; the heat of the sun became so overpowering and intense, that many of the crew became quite languid, incapable of the smallest exertion, and indifferent about their fate. This state of his company greatly alarmed Captain Bligh, not only on account of their own preservation, but because, unless continued exertion was made, they should not be able to take advantage of the favourable change of the weather, or reach the land, even if it were as near as he anticipated. He did every thing, therefore, in his power to rouse them; and at last succeeded in restoring them to hope and to a love of life. On the 29th of May, very early in the morning, they discovered breakers right a-head; they had barely time enough to haul off and escape the danger: soon afterwards they observed a small island, lying in the latitude of 12 degrees 51 minutes south: as this island serves to shew the entrance into the Channel, Captain Bligh gave it the name of the Island of Direction. It lies very near the coast of New Holland: on this coast they landed in the afternoon of the same day, and now their fatigues and apprehensions were in a great measure at an end. They found great abundance of oysters, water, and berries, of different sorts, on the part where they landed: and to men in their deplorable condition, no luxuries could have been more acceptable. On this coast also they remained all night, enjoying a repose to which they had been long utter strangers. Just as they were preparing to embark, twenty of the natives made their appearance, shouting, hallooing, and brandishing the weapons they held in their hands, making signs at the same time for Captain Bligh and his companions to land on the spot where they were. Each man was armed with a spear or lance; from this circumstance, and from many more being observed peeping over the tops of the adjacent hills, Captain Bligh did not deem it prudent to comply

with their invitation, or even to remain any longer on shore. The natives on this part of the coast of New Holland, as well as those which were seen as they continued to sail along the shore, were naked, with black and woolly hair.

They continued to land occasionally, and to refresh themselves with oysters and berries, till the evening of the 3d of June, when they passed through Endeavour Straits, and once more launched into the wide ocean, with the design of proceeding directly for the island of Timor: this they expected to reach in the course of eight or ten days; but though now so near the end of their fatigues, they met with such a continuance of wet and tempestuous weather, as to wear down the strongest, and to produce in many, evident signs of approaching dissolution. Captain Bligh was again obliged to have recourse to every effort that he thought would raise their drooping spirits; but even the confident and well grounded expectation that he held out to them, that in a very few days they would arrive at a place where their miseries would terminate, had scarcely any effect upon them, so completely debilitated were their minds, and to such an utter state of depression had their spirits sunk. The most fatal consequences must have resulted from the condition in which the greater part of the crew were, if it had continued even for a few days; but fortunately, at three o'clock of the morning on the 12th of June, the island of Timor was discovered; and on the 14th they arrived at the Dutch settlement of Coupang, where they were received and treated with the utmost kindness and hospitality. From this place they proceeded in a vessel which Captain Bligh purchased, to Batavia, which he was anxious to reach before the October fleet should sail for Europe. At Batavia he left the companions of his perilous voyage, and took his passage on board of a Dutch packet: on the 14th of March 1790, he arrived in England. Out of the crew which were put into the boat, when she left the

Bounty, only twelve lived to return to their native country. Mr. Nelson the Botanist died, while they were preparing to leave Coupang.

In the beginning of August 1791, Captain Bligh again sailed from England in the Providence armed ship, accompanied by the Assistance tender, commanded by Lieutenant Patlock. The object of this voyage was principally the same as that of the former one, which had proved so unfortunate; to collect bread-fruit trees at the island of Otaheite, and to carry them to the West Indies, he was also directed to make enquiries, while in that island, respecting the mutineers. Nothing particular happened during the course of this voyage. In the month of January 1793, having accomplished the principal object, for which he came to Otaheite, he sailed from it, and arrived safe at St. Vincent's, where he landed three hundred bread fruit trees in excellent order. While he was in Otaheite, he was able to obtain but very vague and unsatisfactory intelligence respecting the mutineers: it was supposed there, that Christian and part of his accomplices had gone to settle in some of the remote, uninhabited islands.

The Pandora, of twenty-four guns, Captain Valentine Edwards, was more successful: he was sent out in 1791 to Otaheite, and on his arrival there, secured sixteen of them; the rest, among whom was Christian, had sailed some days before the arrival of the Pandora, but whither they were gone, or what were their intentions, the natives of Otaheite, and their companions that remained behind and were taken, could not inform Captain Edwards. On the 12th of September 1792, a court-martial was assembled in Portsmouth harbour, to try the mutineers who had been brought home in the Pandora. On the 18th the court, having heard the evidence for the prosecution, and also the defence made by the culprits, passed sentence of death on six of them; three of whom were executed on the 29th of October.

Early in the year 1790, the board of Admiralty resolved to send out a vessel for the purpose of exploring the north west coast of North America. Captain Roberts was appointed to the command of her; and every preparation for her voyage and departure had been made, when a rupture between Great Britain and Spain respecting Nootka Sound seemed likely to take place. In consequence of this, the expedition was, for the present, abandoned; but at the end of the same year, the disputes between the two countries having been amicably adjusted, it was again resumed. Two vessels were accordingly fitted out, the *Discovery* and the *Chatham*: the former mounted ten four pounders, and ten swivels, had on board one hundred and five persons, and was commanded by Captain Vancouver; the latter mounted four three pounders and six swivels, had on board forty-five men, and was commanded by Lieutenant Broughton.

According to the instructions which Captain Vancouver received from the board of Admiralty, he was in the first place to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, which he was accurately and carefully to survey: at these he was to remain till he judged the season of the year and the weather, favourable for proceeding to Nootka Sound, at which place he was to receive from the Spanish officers the lands and buildings which, according to the adjustment that had taken place between Great Britain and Spain, were to be delivered up to the former power: the north west coast of America was afterwards to be examined: and he was particularly required to ascertain the existence of the supposed straits which were said to have been discovered by John De Fuca, a Greek pilot, in the year 1592, from whom they took their name; and through which, in 1789, the American vessel *Washington*, was said to have passed, having come out again to the northward of Nootka. As soon as he had completed this division of the object of his voyage, he was to return to the Sandwich Islands, which

were to be still further explored ; and in his way home, the western coast of South America, from the south point of the island of Chiloe to Cape Horn was to undergo particular examination.

On the 1st of April, Captain Vancouver left the English channel : and on the 26th of August, the south west coast of New Holland was discovered in latitude 35 degrees 3 minutes south, and in longitude 116 degrees 35 minutes east. He next proceeded to New Zealand, and surveyed that part of Duskey Bay which had been left unexplored by Captain Cook. On the 30th of December, the vessels arrived in Matavai Bay, in the Island of Otaheite. During their passage from New Zealand to this island, the Discovery and the Chatham were separated : on the same day on which they lost sight of each other, Lieutenant Broughton saw land ; it proved to be a barren desolate island : soon afterwards he discovered two more islands which he called the Two Sisters, from their great resemblance to each other ; they lie in the latitude of 43 degrees 11 minutes, and in the longitude of 182 degrees 49 minutes. The natives were rather stout in their make, of a middle size ; their hair long and black ; round their necks the skin of a seal or bear was fastened, hanging down as low as their hips : the arms which they had consisted of a club and spear. Their object, when they first saw Lieutenant Broughton and his men, evidently was to put them off their guard : to accomplish this, they manifested a friendly disposition : but as soon as they perceived that our men were on their guard, and were suspicious of their designs, they commenced an attack, which obliged Mr. Broughton, for their own safety, to fire upon them.

On the 24th of January, 1792, Captain Vancouver left Otaheite, and on the 17th of April the coast of New Albion was discovered : on the 24th several canoes put off to the ships. The natives, Captain Vancouver describes in the following favourable terms :



“ A pleasing and courteous deportment distinguishes these people : their countenances indicated nothing ferocious ; their features partook rather of the general European character : their colour a light olive ; and besides being punctuated in the fashion of the South Sea Islanders, their skin had many other marks, apparently from injuries in their excursions through the forests, possibly with little or no clothing to protect them, though some of us were of opinion these marks were purely ornamental. Their stature was under the middle size, none that we saw exceeding five feet six inches in height : they were tolerably well limbed, though slender in their persons ; bore little or no resemblance to the people of Nootka : nor did they seem to have the least knowledge of that language. They seemed to prefer the comforts of cleanliness to the painting of their bodies ; in their ears and noses they had small ornaments of bone ; their hair which was long and black, was clean and neatly combed, and generally tied in a club behind, though some amongst them had their hair in a club in front also. Their covering was the skins of deer, bear, fox, or river otter. Their canoes calculated to carry about eight people, were rudely wrought out of a single tree : their shape resembled that of a butcher’s tray. They brought but a few trifling articles to barter, and they anxiously solicited in exchange iron, and beads. In this traffic, they were scrupulously honest : particularly in fixing their bargain with the first bidder ; for if the second offered a more valuable commodity for what they had to sell, they would not consent, but made signs, which could not be mistaken, that the first should pay the price offered by the second, on which the bargain would be closed. They did ~~not~~ entertain the least idea of accepting presents : for on my giving them some beads, medals, iron, &c. they instantly offered their garments in return ; and seemed much astonished, and I believe not less pleased, that I chose to decline them. The

first man in particular gave me some trouble to persuade him that he was to retain both the trinkets and his garment."

During their voyage along the coast of New Albion, they fell in with the *Columbia*, American ship, commanded by Mr. Grey, the very gentleman who, in the *Washington*, was said to have penetrated a considerable distance into the supposed Straits of John De Fuca: upon interrogating him upon this subject, they found there was a great deal of exaggeration in the report, as he assured them that he had not sailed more than fifty miles up these straits. On the same day that they fell in with the *Columbia*, the ships came to what was deemed to be the entrance of the straits; and as the exploring them was one of the principal objects of the expedition, and had been particularly recommended to him in his instructions, Captain Vancouver resolved to proceed with great deliberation and care. The ships continued to pursue their voyage up what was supposed to be the entrance of the straits, without, however, the appearance of any bay or inlet till the 2d of May; when Captain Vancouver, for the purpose of more close examination, came to anchor in a secure and excellent harbour, about a quarter of a mile from the shore. This harbour he called *Discovery Harbour*, after the name of his vessel: and to an island which formed and protected its entrance, he gave the appellation of *Protection Island*. This island lies in the latitude of 48 degrees 3 minutes and in the longitude of 237 degrees 20 minutes. The aspect of the country is mountainous; the summits of the hills were at that season covered with snow: the gooseberry, currant, and raspberry were observed growing in great abundance, and luxuriance in the warm and sheltered valleys. Very few animals were seen; these consisted principally of dogs, rabbits, squirrels, rats, mice, and the shunk; a single black bear was seen; and there were traces of deer observed: The country seemed very thinly

inhabited, so that Captain Vancouver remarked, that after traversing nearly one hundred and fifty miles, he did not see nearly the same number of inhabitants, as in an equal space, Nootka would have afforded. In their persons, they resemble those of the latter place, except that they are not quite so stout, and are less filthy in their manners and habits. They were clothed chiefly in woollen garments of their own manufacture, or with the skins of deer, bears, and other animals: some part of their dress also consisted of a kind of cloth formed of the bark of trees. Bows, arrows, and spears, were their common weapons: very little iron was observed about these weapons, but flint, bone, and agate, were generally employed for the points of the two latter.

An immense number of human skeletons and bones were found among them, and in such a situation, that they were evidently preserved with care, and for some particular reason. Several skeletons were placed in canoes, which were suspended from trees, at ten or twelve feet from the ground: where the canoes were too large and unwieldy to be disposed of in this manner, they were hauled up from the shore, into some adjoining wood, and from four to seven skeletons were placed in each, covered over with a broad plank. All these skeletons were those of grown up persons; the skeletons of children were suspended in baskets from trees; each basket containing one skeleton. As the inhabitants seemed of a very mild and peaceable disposition, and as Captain Vancouver could not learn that they were ever engaged in hostilities, he was induced to attribute the vast number of skeletons and human bones, to the ravages of the small pox, or some other epidemic disease.

On the 16th of May a deep bay or inlet was discovered in the supposed Straits of John De Fuca: and a fortnight was spent by the boats in surveying it, which Captain Vancouver distinguished by the name of Admiralty Inlet. It led into an interior sea,

to which he gave the name of the Gulph of Georgia. The coasts on this Gulph were traversed by the boats for upwards of three hundred and thirty miles, but no traces could be discovered of the supposed straits. On the 28th of August, the ships arrived at Friendly Cove, in Nootka Sound: his object here, according to his instructions was, to receive possession in the name of his Majesty, of the lands and buildings, from the Spaniards. Accordingly a negociation was opened between the Spanish commander and Captain Vancouver; but as they differed in opinion, respecting the extent and boundaries of the territory, which was to be ceded to Great Britain, it was resolved to refer the matter again to their respective courts.

On the 12th of October, they left Nootka, steering along the shore to the southward, for the purpose of examining again the coast of New Albion, and Columbia River; on the latter expedition, Lieutenant Broughton went in his boats, and in the space of ten days, he explored it from its entrance about eighty-four miles. At the entrance he found it shallow, surrounded with dangerous reefs of rocks, with a heavy and continual surf breaking over them; when he had got higher up, the navigation was still intricate, so that vessels even of the smallest burden could not safely proceed up it. On the 26th of October, they arrived at Monterry, where the following singular method of taking deer, &c. is practised by the Indians: "They equip themselves in a dress consisting of the head and hide of the creature they mean to take; with this, when properly put on and adjusted, they resort to the place where the game is expected, and there walk about on their hands and feet, counterfeiting all the actions of the animal they are in quest of: these, they perform remarkably well, particularly in the watchfulness, and in the manner in which the deer feed. By these means, they can nearly to a certainty get within two or three yards of the deer, when they take an opportunity of its attention being direct-

ed to some other object, and discharge their arrows from their secreted bow, which is done in a very stooping attitude, and the first or second seldom fails to be fatal. The whole was so extremely well contrived and executed, that I am convinced a stranger would not easily have discovered the deception."

About the middle of January, 1793, Captain Vancouver sent Lieutenant Broughton with dispatches to England; and appointed Lieutenant Paget to command the *Chatham*. Soon afterwards he left *Montterry*, and pursued his course towards the Sandwich Islands in such a line as might enable him to determine the existence of certain islands, which are laid down in the Spanish charts, between the 19th and 21st degrees of north latitude, and between the 221st and 225th degrees of east longitude. Ten days he employed in search of them: and being convinced that they had no existence, he steered directly for *Owhyhee*, which he reached on the 12th of February. He continued among the Sandwich Islands till the 30th of March, using every endeavour, but in vain, to reconcile the natives of *Owhyhee* and the neighbouring islands to each other; their hostile feelings were too rancourous and violent to yield to any arbitration. He again directed his course to *Nootka*; and on the 2d of May, he anchored in *Port Trinidad*, in latitude 41 degrees 8 minutes north. The country round this harbour was very richly clothed with wood: even the summits of the highest mountains being covered with stately and thriving trees; very few natives were seen; they appeared very docile and friendly in their disposition; a singular custom was observed among them: the teeth of both sexes were ground down close to the gums; and among some of them, especially the women, the fashion was carried to a still greater extreme, since they were reduced even below this level; on their lower lip were three columns of punctuation, perpendicular, one from each corner of the mouth, and one exactly in

the middle between these two ; so that nearly three fifths of the lip and chin were covered by them. On the 3d of May, they left Port Trinidad, and arrived at Nootka Sound on the 20th, after departing from this place, a great deal of time was spent in exploring, both with the ships and boats, the continents and islands on the north west coast of America, as far north as the latitude of 56 degrees 47 minutes, and the longitude 227 degrees 20 minutes. In one of these excursions undertaken by Captain Vancouver, with the boats, he was absent from the ships twenty-three days, in which time he explored upwards of seven hundred geographical miles, and was on one occasion, while he was in Burrough's Bay, in latitude 56 north, in very great danger of having been cut off by the natives. Of the different customs which were remarked among the Indians of this part of America, one deserves to be noticed for its singularity ; if they wish to signify that their dispositions and intentions are pacific, they hold in one hand the skin of a bird, while, with the other, they pluck out the young feathers and down : all this time they address a deliberate and studied harangue ; and at the end of each sentence of it, they blow the feathers into the air.

As soon as the repairs which the ships required were completed, they sailed from Nootka : their object was to explore again the southern parts of New Albion, and to obtain there such refreshments as that country could afford them, of which they began to be in great need. On the 1st of November they anchored at Monterey : the reception which they met with here from the Spaniards, though civil and attentive, was not so frank and hospitable as that which they had experienced on their former visit : this they soon found arose from a new governor having been appointed to the settlement, who probably had received instructions from his court to regard the British who arrived there either for the purposes of commerce or discovery, with a watchful and

jealous eye. So many and such inconvenient restrictions were imposed on Captain Vancouver, in his intercourse with the shore, that he made his stay at Monterey much shorter than he had originally intended, and resolved, after he had examined the coast, to proceed again to the Sandwich Islands. On the 5th of November he left this place, steering directly southward till the 10th, when he arrived at another Spanish settlement, called Santa Barbara; his reception here was much more frank and hospitable than it had been at the former place; the commandant offering every assistance and accommodation in his power to Captain Vancouver. In the port of St. Diego, lying in latitude 32 deg. 42 min. north, and in longitude 243 deg. 96 min. east, where he arrived on the 27th, he again experienced much inconvenience from the suspicions of the Spanish governor, who, however, at the same time expressed his regret, that the orders which he had received but a few days before Captain Vancouver's arrival, from the commanding officer at Monterey absolutely forbid him to behave in a different manner. He continued to examine the western coast of North America with great care till he arrived at the 30th deg. north latitude, when he took his departure for the Sandwich Islands.

Notwithstanding the reserve and jealousy with which he was treated by the Spaniards, he contrived to gain some important information respecting their settlements on this part of the coast of North America: to all their small settlements, missions are attached, which consist of convents of the different orders of monks; San Francisco is the northernmost of these; it lies in latitude 38 deg. 40 min. and was established in the year 1778; subordinate to it is the mission of St. Clare, which was founded in 1775. Proceeding to the south, the next is Monterey, to which belong three missions; *viz.* San Carlos, founded in 1770; Santa Cruz, in 1789; and San Antonio,

St. Louis, and Santa Rosa La Parissima. The next is Santa Barbara, with the missions of Buena Ventura, St. Gabriel, St. Juan, which were established between the years 1781 and 1784: the last settlement is that of St. Diego, to which are attached the missions of St. Miguel, St. Thomas, El Rosario, and St. Domingo; these were founded between the years 1770 and 1790. The success of these missions, in converting the inhabitants, if credit may be given to the representations of the Spaniards, has been very great. The Franciscan and Dominican orders of missionaries alone, in New Albion, and throughout the Peninsula of California, are said to have under their discipline twenty thousand of the natives, who have embraced the Roman Catholic religion; and these were estimated to form an eighth or tenth of the whole population. On the 13th of January, 1794, the ships anchored in Karakakooa Bay, in the Island of Owhyhee; near the spot where Captain Cook had been murdered. The king and the natives in general seemed greatly pleased at their return, and offered Captain Vancouver every assistance in their power towards relitting the vessels. Captain Vancouver, soon after his arrival, was permitted to be present at the religious ceremony of the Taboo, which he had frequently desired to witness: the king told him, when he applied for this permission, that the priests would grant it, provided, during the whole of the ceremony, and the continuance of the interdictions imposed by the Taboo, he would consent to all the restrictions which their religion demanded. The restraints which were imposed, consisted chiefly in the following particulars:—in the first place, the company of women was to be totally and scrupulously abstained from: secondly, no food was to be taken, unless it had been previously consecrated: thirdly, it was forbidden to leave the land, or even to be wet with sea-water: and fourthly, not the most trivial article of food, or any thing else, was to be received



from those who had not attended the ceremonies at the Morai; nor were the initiated permitted even to touch any thing which had been in their hands. Captain Vancouver, and all those who were on shore with him, were strictly laid under these restrictions: about sunset they were summoned to attend the king, who was officiating in the character of high priest, at the Morai, attended by some of the chiefs of the different religious orders in the island. When Captain Vancouver and his companions arrived at the Morai, they found them chaunting an address to the setting sun: with this the rites always began; after this invocation, a regular set of prayers were said or chaunted; one of which contained petitions for the welfare of his Britannic Majesty, and for the safe and happy return of Captain Vancouver and his party to their native country. The meaning and object of many of the ceremonies that were performed, Captain Vancouver could not comprehend; nor could he gain any information respecting them from the inhabitants who were present: the most singular and apparently the principal ceremony was performed about the dawn of day. The most profound and mysterious silence was observed: not a whisper was to be heard: this lasted a short time; when, on a sudden, the king repeated a prayer, in a low and solemn tone; and when he arrived at the middle of it, he took up a live pig, tied by both the legs, and with one effort dashed it to death against the ground; Captain Vancouver understood, that this part of the ceremony would not be complete, or perhaps the omen would be unfortunate, if the victim uttered a single cry: it requires therefore some dexterity, as well as strength, in the person who officiates on this occasion, in order that the blow given to the animal may at once deprive it of life: he likewise learnt, that during no part of the ceremony is silence more indispensable than on this occasion; if the smallest noise, of any kind, is made by any of

the company, the ceremony is of no avail. The object of this singular practice is to ascertain, whether they possess the confidence and friendship of the gods; if the officiating minister succeeds in dashing the victim to death, without its uttering any cry, and in the midst of the most profound silence of the spectators, the gods are believed to be propitious; and the remaining ceremonies are carried into execution. During the continuance of the Taboos, only hogs, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, which have been previously consecrated by the priests, are eaten; they carefully abstain from the more common articles of food, such as fish, turtle, fowls, dogs, and the esculent roots, which serve for their repasts at other periods.

The king and the principal chiefs of the island soon became so fond of the English, that they resolved to put themselves under the protection and government of his Britannic Majesty, by formally ceding it to him: for this purpose a royal order was issued, commanding all the chiefs to meet on a certain day at Karakakooa: several thousands of the natives soon made their appearance; and the days were spent, previously to the day fixed for the ceremony, in various amusements, in which their manners, customs, and dispositions were fully and accurately displayed. Of several of these amusements Captain Vancouver has given an entertaining account: one of them, in which several women of rank and consequence in the island were principally engaged, we shall describe in his own words:

“About four o’clock we were informed it was time to attend the royal dames: their theatre, or rather place of exhibition, was about a mile to the southward of our tents; in a small square, surrounded by houses and sheltered by trees; a situation as well chosen for the performance, as for the accommodation of the spectators, who, on a moderate computation, could not be estimated at less than four thousand, of all ranks and descriptions of persons.

A difference in point of dress had been observed in the audience at the former entertainment ; but on this occasion, every one shone forth in the best apparel that could be procured ; those who had been successful in their commercial transactions with us, did not fail to appear in the best attire they had procured ; and such as were destitute of European articles, had exerted their genius to substitute the manufacture and productions of their own country in the most fashionable and advantageous manner. Feathered ruffs, or gartering tape in wreaths, adorned the ladies heads, and were also worn as necklaces ; red cloth, printed linen, or that of their own manufacture, constituted the lower garment, which extended from the waist to the knees. The men likewise had put on their best macos ; so that the whole presented a very gay and lively spectacle. On our arrival some of our friends were pleased to be a little jocular with our appearance at so unfashionable an hour, having come much too early for the representation ; but as we were admitted into the green-room amongst the performers, our time was not unpleasantly engaged. The dress of the actresses was something like that worn by Puckoo, though made with superior materials, and disposed with more taste and elegance. A very considerable quantity of their finest cloth was prepared for the occasion ; of this their lower garment was formed, which extended from their waist half way down their legs, and was so plaited as to appear very much like a hoop petticoat. This seemed the most difficult part of their dress to adjust ; for Tamaahmaah, who was considered to be a profound critic, was frequently appealed to by the women, and his directions were implicitly followed in many little alterations. Instead of the ornaments of cloth and net-work, decorated with dog's teeth, these ladies had each a green wreath, made of a kind of bind-weed, twisted together in different parts like a rope, which was wound round from the ankle nearly to

the lower part of their petticoat. On their wrists they wore no bracelets, nor other ornaments; but across their necks and shoulders were green sashes, very nicely made with the broad leaves of the *tee*, a plant that produces a very luscious sweet root, the size of a yam. This part of their dress was put on the last by each of the actresses; and the party being now fully attired, the king and queen, who had been present the whole time of their dressing, were obliged to withdraw, greatly to the mortification of the latter, who would gladly have taken her part as a performer, in which she was reputed to excel very highly. But the royal pair was compelled to retire, even from the exhibition, as they are prohibited by law from attending such amusements, excepting on the festival of the new-year. Indeed the performance of this day was contrary to the established rules of the island; but being intended as a compliment to us, the innovation was admitted.

The time devoted to the decoration of the actresses extended beyond the limits of the quiet patience of the audience, who exclaimed two or three times, from all quarters, "hoorah, hoorah, paatiealee," signifying, that it would be dark and black night before the performance would begin. But the audience, here, like similar ones in other countries, attending with a pre-disposition to be pleased, was in good-humour, and was easily appeased by the address of our faithful and devoted friend Trywhokee, who was the conductor of the ceremonies, and sole manager on the occasion. He came forward and apologized, by a speech that produced a general laugh; and causing the music to begin, we heard no further murmurs.

The band consisted of five men, all standing up, each with a highly-polished wooden spear, in the left, and a small piece of the same material equally well finished, in the right hand; with this they beat on the spear, as an accompaniment to their own voices,

in songs, that varied both as to time and measure, especially the latter; yet their voices, and the sounds produced from their rude instruments, which differed according to the place on which the tapering spear was struck, appeared to accord very well. Having engaged us a short time in this vocal performance, the court ladies made their appearance, and were received with shouts of the greatest applause. The musicians retired a few paces, and the actresses took their stations before them.

The heroine of the piece, which consisted of four parts or acts, had once shared the affections and embraces of Tamaahmaah, but was now married to an inferior chief, whose occupation in the household was that of the charge of the king's apparel. This lady was distinguished by a green wreath round the crown of her head; next to her was the captive daughter of Titeeree; the third, a younger sister to the queen, who being of the most exalted rank, stood in the middle. On each side of these were two of inferior quality, making in all seven actresses. They drew themselves up in a line fronting that side of the square that was occupied by the ladies of quality, and the chiefs. These were completely detached from the populace, not by any partition, but as it were by the respectful consent of the lower orders of the assembly; not one of which trespassed, or produced the least inconvenience.

This representation was a compound of speaking and singing; the subject of which was enforced by appropriate gestures and actions. The piece was in honour of a captive princess: and on her name being pronounced, every one present, men as well as women, who wore any ornaments above their waist, were obliged to take them off, though the captive lady was at least sixty miles distant. This mark of respect was unobserved by the actresses whilst engaged in the performance; but the instant any one

sat down, or at the close of the act, they were also obliged to comply with this mysterious ceremony.

The variety of attitudes into which these women threw themselves, with the rapidity of their action, resembled no amusement in any other part of the world within my knowledge, by a comparison with which I might be enabled to convey some idea of the stage effect thus produced; particularly in the three first parts; in which there appeared much correspondence and harmony between the tone of their voices and the display of their limbs. One or two of the performers being not quite so perfect as the rest, afforded us an opportunity of exercising our judgment by comparison; and it must be confessed that the ladies that most excelled, exhibited a degree of graceful action, for the attainment of which it is difficult to account.

In each of these first parts, the songs, attitudes, and actions appeared to me of greater variety than I had before noticed among the people of the Great South-Sea nation, on any former occasion. The whole, though I am unequal to its description, was supported with a wonderful degree of spirit and vivacity; so much, indeed, that some of their exertions were made with such a degree of agitating violence, as seemed to carry the performers beyond what their strength was able to sustain, and had the performance finished with the third act, we should have retired from their theatre with a much higher idea of the moral tendency of their drama, than was conveyed by the offensive, libidinous scene exhibited by the ladies, in the concluding part. The language of the song, no doubt corresponded with the obscenity of the actions; which were carried to a degree of extravagance that was calculated to produce nothing but disgust even to the most licentious.

This hoorah occupied about an hour, and concluded with the descending sun, it being contrary to

law that such representations should be continued after that time of day. The spectators instantly retired in the most orderly manner, and dispersed in the greatest good humour, apparently highly delighted with the entertainment they had received."

On the day which was appointed for ceding in due and solemn form the island to his Britannic Majesty, the different chiefs assembled on board the *Discovery*; most of them made long harangues on the occasion; and in these they displayed no inconsiderable degree of address and eloquence. One very powerful motive for this cession of their island was very apparent throughout the speeches of several of the chiefs: they hoped, when it was under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, that they should no longer suffer the indignities which had been offered to them by the inhabitants of Mowee. One of them who aspired to the sovereignty of this island, looking forward to the assistance of England, proposed, that, as soon as it arrived, the first object of its employment ought to be the conquest of Mowee: the impetuosity and ambitious views of this chief, however, were calmed and restrained by another, who, in his harangue, rather dwelt on the comforts, which their union with Britain would produce, and hailed it as the probable means of effecting a general pacification with their relations and friends, as he termed them, in the adjacent islands. All the chiefs who spoke on this occasion, explicitly declared, that this cession of their island should leave untouched in their minutest particulars, every thing relating to their religion, government, and domestic economy: the chiefs and priests were to preserve their character and authority, and no change was to take place, except that his Britannic Majesty was to be acknowledged and received as the sovereign of Owhyhee. As soon as every thing had been discussed, and the preliminaries fully settled and understood, the whole party gave

their consent, by proclaiming in a loud voice, that they were no longer Tanata no Owhyhee—the people of Owhyhee;—but Tanata no Brittanner—the people of Britain. As soon as the immense crowd, who had been assembled on this occasion, learnt the result of the meeting, they repeated the same expressions, and manifested great joy that they were now so intimately connected with their friends the British.

Captain Vancouver was employed in his examination and survey of the Sandwich Islands, till the 14th of March, when he took his departure for the north west coast of America. About two months afterwards a singular rock was discovered in latitude 23 deg. 6 min. and longitude 198 degrees, 8 minutes. It is not above a league in circumference, and rises perpendicularly to a considerable height out of the ocean. From the immense number of birds which were seen on it, and seemed to inhabit it, Captain Vancouver denominated it Bird Island.

The principal object Captain Vancouver had in view, during this expedition to the north-west coast of America was, to explore Cook's river; from what he had already observed respecting it, in his former voyages hither, he was rather disposed to doubt, whether it was actually a river; he was therefore determined this time to devote his most attentive and minute examination in a great measure to this point. One of the officers of the Discovery was accordingly dispatched with two boats, with directions to follow the course of the supposed river, sufficiently far up the land to determine whether it deserved that denomination or not. It had already been ascertained that there were two arms or outlets; and the officer proceeded up both; the result was, that he could penetrate no farther to the northward and westward up one of the arms, than the latitude 60 degrees, 54 minutes, and longitude 211 degrees, 30 minutes; up the other arm he penetrated to the latitude 61 degrees, 4 minutes, and longitude 209 de-



grees, 37 minutes. Here they both respectively terminated, so that there could no longer be any doubt, that it was an inlet and not a river; and that Captain Cook had pronounced it to be the latter without due and sufficient examination: had that celebrated navigator spent one day more than he actually did in the investigation, he must have made the same discovery, and come to the same conclusion that Captain Vancouver did. Ever since Captain Cook had pronounced this to be a river, and a river, from the appearance and breadth of its outlet with the sea, of great magnitude, hopes were entertained that the long sought for north-west passage would be effected by it; but now, that by the researches of Captain Vancouver, it is proved to be only an inlet, these hopes must be given up, so far as they rest on it; and as besides, no other part of the coast of North West America, as far as it can be approached for the ice, presents any large opening or appearance of a river running far into the country, the question respecting the existence, or at least of the practicability of a north-west passage must be given up even by the most sanguine and determined believers in it. Captain Vancouver soon had another opportunity to correct the errors of Captain Cook; by exploring the shores of Prince William's Island, and by surveying the different inlets in Chatham Straits between King George the Third's Archipelago and Admiralty Island. In the narrative of Captain Cook's last voyage, there is a great deficiency of nautical and geographical information respecting a line of sea coast upwards of ninety leagues in extent, lying between the south point of Kayas Island and Cape Elizabeth, and passing through Prince William's Sound. This omission, Captain Vancouver is inclined to ascribe to the narrative not having received the correction of the author, since a considerable time was employed by Captain Cook in exploring this part of the coast. Prince William's Sound was satisfactorily ascertained

by Captain Vancouver to be a branch of the ocean diverging into many extensive arms, which though they do not contain any commodious or safe harbours, yet deserve more minute examination than he was able to give them. Montague Island was determined to be not so long by seven miles, nor so far to the southward by ten, as it is described and laid down by Captain Cook. The position also of Snug Corner Cove is not accurately laid down by that navigator; and a small islet, barren, flat, and rocky, about seven miles from Cape Hinchinbrook, and nearly the same distance from Montague Island, is not even described or noticed. These, though trivial and unimportant errors, when we reflect on the magnitude and extent of Captain Cook's labour and discoveries, yet in a nautical and geographical point of view, deserve being pointed out and corrected.

With respect to Admiralty Island, it was found to be chiefly a rock, covered with a thin layer of soil, evidently formed from the decomposition of vegetables: on it however, there grew timber superior to any which had been observed on the north-west side of America. On this island, as well as on different parts of the Continent, there were manifold and undoubted proofs that the sea was encroaching on the land: the low and flat borders which stretched from the base of the mountain, on this island, towards the ocean, exhibited many large trees, in different stages of decay; some were found standing erect, and rooted fast in the ground; others which had been more exposed to the influence of the salt water were less perfect, and so much had the ocean encroached on the land, that at low water many stumps of trees were barely visible.

This encroachment was remarked also in Port Chalmers, and on the shores of Cook's Inlet; while on other parts of the north-west coast of America, the sea seemed to have receded; in Gray's harbour, a number of shallow banks occupying a large part of

it, were observed, which probably had originated from the latter cause; but in most places, and upon the whole, the observations and researches of Captain Vancouver, led him to the conclusion that the waters of the north Pacific Ocean are gradually, but slowly gaining on the land; and that this encroachment is greatest, or at least most visible in the neighbourhood of Admiralty Island.

On the 19th of August, Captain Vancouver having now spent three years in surveying and examining the coast of North West America with the most unwearied zeal and perseverance; and having completely obeyed the instructions given him by the board of Admiralty, sailed from a cove on the eastern shore of King George the Third's Archipelago; which, as it terminated the extent of his labours, he called Port Conclusion; it lies in latitude 56 degrees, 15 minutes north, and in longitude 225 degrees, 37 minutes east.

On his return he touched at the Island of Cocos, of which he gives a more accurate and full description and account than any which had before appeared. It is not known by whom this island was first discovered. Lord Anson was for five days in sight of land, which he considered to be the Island of Cocos; but he lays it down in a latitude 13 minutes to the south of what Captain Vancouver, by his calculations, ascertained it to be. Dampier and Wafer also mention an island which they call the Island of Cocos; but their descriptions differ widely from each other, and neither of them agree with that of Captain Vancouver. This island is about four leagues in circumference, lying in a north-east and south-west direction: in length it is about four miles, in breadth about two; several detached rocks and islets lie scattered around its shores: its latitude is 5 degrees, 35 minutes north; its longitude 273 degrees, 5 minutes east. Excellent fish are found in great abundance near its shores: several oceanic birds were

seen, as also hawks, brown and white herons, rails, a species of blackbird, and a few others that inhabited the woods; here they obtained great abundance of wood, water, and cocoa-nuts. A note was found in a bottle suspended from a tree, intimating that the captain of a South Sea whaler had, in July 1793, touched at this island, and had left a breed of hogs and goats, as well as sown a variety of garden seeds, but no traces of any of these were to be seen.

On the 27th of January, Captain Vancouver left Cocos; his principal object, in proceeding homewards was, to survey the coast of Chili, according to his instructions. Towards the end of March, the Andes were descried; they were then supposed to be about forty leagues distant; the day afterwards they arrived in the Bay of Valparaiso, on the coast of Chili: the Spaniards behaved to them with much more frankness and hospitality than was expected: they even permitted Captain Vancouver, and some of his officers, to visit St. Jago, the capital of that part of Spanish America, where they were received and treated by the captain general with every mark of respect and politeness. From what he observed in Chili, and particularly in St. Jago, this part of the Spanish transatlantic dominions is administered with more regard to the comfort and happiness of the people, than is found to be the case in their other colonies: and consequently it is in a much more prosperous and flourishing condition.

Their voyage from Chili round Cape Horn was very tempestuous, but not attended with much danger. On the 2d of July the Discovery arrived at St. Helena; the Chatham, which had separated from her about a month before, in a heavy gale of wind, arrived there on the same day. On the 20th of October they arrived in the river Thames; having been absent four years, eight months, and twenty-nine days: in that time, the Discovery had lost only six

men, and five of these perished by accidents. The Chatham did not lose a single man, either by disease or accident.

The following short view of the geographical knowledge, obtained of the earth, previous to Captain Vancouver's expedition, interspersed with some remarks and conjectures on those parts of the globe which have not yet been explored, with which he concludes the narrative of his voyage, is so well drawn up, and so appropriate to the subject of the present chapter, that we shall take the liberty of inserting it.

“ The effecting a passage into the Oriental Seas, round the Cape of Good Hope; the discovery of America; and the opening of a communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, by passing either through the Straits of Magellan, or round the islands lying off the southern extremity of Terra del Fuego, engaged the minds and utmost exertions of the most illustrious navigators, during the three last centuries. These enterprises have been duly appreciated, and justly celebrated, for the important lights they have thrown upon the sciences of geography and nautical astronomy; for the improvements they have caused in the arts; for the commercial intercourse, which, by their means, has been opened and established with all the maritime parts of the world; and lastly, for the happy introduction of civilization among numerous tribes of our fellow creatures.

“ In the first attempts to accomplish these extensive objects, Great Britain took no part; but no sooner did she perceive the importance of which they were likely to be to her prosperity and consequence as a maritime state, than her spirit for the attainment of such valuable acquisitions to science became roused. In the course of a very few years, no such essential benefits have been secured to mankind, nor has so much geographical knowledge been acquired, as since the commencement of discovery, undertaken

and successfully accomplished by the unremitted labours of British navigators; whose primary considerations have been to direct their enquiries to objects of an useful nature, and to investigate and support the truth, by a plain narrative of those facts which fell within the sphere of their observation, rather than to give encouragement, by the obtrusion of specious opinions, to hypothesis however ingenious. In consequence of a strict adherence to this principle, the geography of the earth is now placed beyond the influence of conjecture, and is determined by such incontrovertible evidence, that the small spaces that yet remain unexplored in the Pacific or Indian Oceans, are too insignificant to become an object of enterprise: there are, however, parts of the coasts, both of Asia and America, which would yet afford employment to the labourers in the science of discovery.

“ The Asiatic coast from the latitude of about 35 degrees, to the latitude of 52 degrees north, is at present very ill defined; and the American coast from about the latitude of 44 degrees south, to the southern extremity of Terra del Fuego, is likewise very little known, and I entertain no doubt, had not our late examination of the coast of North West America so delayed our return to the southern hemisphere, as to prevent my carrying the orders I had received into effect, that I should have derived great satisfaction from a survey and investigation of the shores of that interesting country. If, however, by that portion of his Majesty’s commands, which I have had the honour to execute, it shall appear that a decision may as justly now take place respecting any navigable communication between the waters of the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans, within the limits of our survey, as on the hypothesis, which gave, as a counterpoise to the globe, *a southern continent*, and which the indefatigable diligence of Captain Cook completely subverted, I should hope that the purpose for which

his Majesty commanded the expedition to be undertaken, will not be considered as having failed for want of zeal or perseverance, though it should hereafter be found incomplete for want of judgment and ability."

Several other voyages were undertaken and completed within a few years after Captain Vancouver's; but as they produced no very important additions to nautical or geographical science, northrew much additional light on the manners and customs of the inhabitants of those parts of the world, which are still very imperfectly known, we shall not give any abstract of them; merely noticing that in a nautical or geographical point of view, those of Colnett and Broughton will be found the most useful and interesting; and that to such as take a pleasure in investigating the manners of savage nations, and in watching and tracing their progress towards civilization, and the effects produced upon them by an intercourse with Europeans, the voyages of the Missionary Society, and of Mr. Turnbull, will be the most acceptable and instructive.

## CAPTAIN JAMES COOK.

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, one of the most eminent navigators and discoverers of unknown territories and seas, recorded either in ancient or modern history, was descended from an obscure family in Northumberland: his father, James, having occupied the humble station of a servant in husbandry, and his mother, whose christian name was Grace, being a person of the same rank and condition in life. The subject of this article claims a distinguished notice. Independently of the singular merit of Captain Cook himself, to which a peculiar tribute is due, his voyages and discoveries are so immediately connected

with science, both geographical and nautical, as to entitle them to a conspicuous place in the naval history of our country.

The parents of Captain Cook, who were noted in their lowly station for honesty, sobriety, and diligence, were settled for some time before his birth at Marton, a village in the North Riding of Yorkshire; and in this place their son James, destined to give celebrity to their name and family, was born on the 27th of October, in the year 1728. Having received the first rudiments of education at his native place, he was further instructed in writing, and the common rules of arithmetic at Ayton, near which place his father was settled in the service of Thomas Skottow, Esq.; and, at the age of thirteen years, he was apprenticed to a shopkeeper, at Staithe, a fishing town ten miles from Whitby. The sea, however, was the object towards which he manifested an early inclination; and, in consequence of some disagreement with his master, he obtained his discharge, and bound himself for seven years to Messrs. Walkers, of Whitby, quakers by religious profession, who employed two ships in the coal trade.

At the expiration of his apprenticeship, he continued in vessels of this description, as a common sailor, till at length he was appointed mate in one of Mr. John Walker's ships. At this time, he was not distinguished by any peculiar and very marked character, though without doubt he must have acquired a considerable degree of knowledge in practical navigation. In the spring of the year 1755, when hostilities commenced between England and France, Mr. Cook, and the ship to which he belonged, happened to be in the river Thames; and after concealing himself some time, to avoid being impressed, he determined to enter into the British navy. His first situation in his Majesty's service, was on board the *Eagle* man of war, to the command of which Captain, afterwards Sir Hugh, Palliser was appointed in



October 1755, As an active diligent seaman, he recommended himself to the captain's notice; and in consequence of his acknowledged merit, as well as by some private interference, he obtained in May, 1759, a master's warrant for the *Grampus* sloop; but this appointment not taking effect, he was made master of the *Garland*, a ship which had sailed before he could join her, and, therefore, in the same month he was appointed to the *Mercury*.

This ship was destined to North America, where she joined the fleet under Sir Charles Saunders, which, in conjunction with the land forces under General Wolfe, was engaged in the famous siege of Quebec. As it was necessary to take the soundings in the river St. Lawrence, between the island of Orleans and the North shore, in the front of the French fortified camp at Montmorency and Beauport, Mr. Cook was recommended by Captain Palliser, who well knew his sagacity and resolution, to this difficult and hazardous service. He performed it, with great personal risk, to the entire satisfaction of his employers; and furnished the admiral with a complete and correct draught of the channel and soundings.

Before this time, it is thought that he had scarcely ever used a pencil, and that he had no knowledge of drawing. He next surveyed those parts of the river below Quebec, which navigators had found to be attended with much danger; this business was executed with his customary diligence and skill; and when his undertaking was finished, his chart of the river St. Lawrence was published, with the necessary soundings and directions for navigating the river.

After the expedition to Quebec, Mr. Cook was appointed master of the *Northumberland* man of war; and in this station, his conduct was such, as to gain him the esteem and friendship of his commander. During the station of his ship at Halifax, he read Euclid, and devoted his leisure time to the study of astronomy, and other branches of science. In Sep-

tember 1762, the Northumberland came to Newfoundland, to assist in the recapture of the island from the French; and after this was accomplished, Mr. Cook surveyed the harbour of Placentia, and the heights of the place, with a diligence which engaged the notice of Captain, afterwards Admiral, Greaves, the governor of Newfoundland. The governor formed a high opinion of his abilities and character; and this opinion was amply confirmed by the concurring testimony of all the officers under whom he had served.

Upon Mr. Cook's return to England, towards the close of the year 1762, he married an amiable woman, who deserved and enjoyed his warmest affection and regard. Early in the year 1763, he accompanied Captain Greaves to Newfoundland, as surveyor of its coasts; and having executed the business that had been assigned him, he returned. In April 1764, he was appointed, under the orders of Commodore Palliser, marine surveyor of Newfoundland and Labrador; and of the satisfactory manner in which he executed this office, the charts which he afterwards published, afford sufficient evidence. These services were continued till the year 1767; and while he was employed in them, he transmitted to the Royal Society an observation of the eclipse of the sun at Newfoundland, with the longitude deduced from it, from which our navigator appears to have already acquired the character of an able mathematician.

But a new and more interesting scene opens upon us in the prosecution of these memoirs. A spirit of discovery had been excited towards the latter end of the fifteenth century, and in the following century it was very vigorous and active; but soon after the commencement of the seventeenth century, it declined: at a subsequent period, during the reign of King George II. it again began to revive; and two voyages were performed for the purpose of discovering a north-west passage through Hudson's Bay. But the

noblest displays of this spirit have been exhibited during the present reign; and it was reserved for Mr. Cook to furnish the most illustrious example of its influence. Soon after the peace of 1763, two voyages round the world, as we have seen, were undertaken by Captains Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, to whom we are indebted for several discoveries, which served to extend the knowledge of geography and navigation: but before the return of the two last of these commanders, another voyage was projected, on a more extensive scale than either of the former.

The transit of Venus in 1769, which was likely to be observed with the greatest advantage in some of the islands of the South Sea, afforded an inducement to this expedition; and after a variety of preliminary consultations and debates, Mr. Cook, who was strongly recommended by Mr. Stephens, secretary to the Admiralty, and by Sir Hugh Palliser, who had long known his abilities and character, was appointed to the command of it, with the rank of a lieutenant in the royal navy, to which he was promoted on the 25th of May 1768.

A vessel of three hundred and seventy tons, called the Endeavour, was prepared for this purpose; but before the necessary arrangements were completed, Captain Wallis returned, and upon being consulted, he recommended Port Royal harbour in George's Island, now known by the name of Otaheite, as the most proper place for the proposed observation of the transit. Lieutenant Cook was accompanied by Mr. Charles Green, who had been assistant to Dr. Bradley at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, and also by Joseph Banks, Esq. now Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. and President of the Royal Society, and Dr. Solander, gentlemen, whose zeal for the promotion of science has been uniform and ardent.

Lieutenant Cook had further views in this voyage than the mere observation of the transit, and accordingly, when that business was accomplished, he was

directed to pursue further discoveries in the great Southern Ocean. The complement of Cook's ship consisted of eighty-four persons, besides the commander; she was victualled for eighteen months, and furnished with ten carriage and twelve swivel guns, together with an ample store of ammunition and other necessaries.

On the 26th of August our navigators set sail from Plymouth Sound, and on the 13th of September anchored in Funchiale Road, in the island of Madeira. Here they were hospitably entertained; and having laid in a fresh stock of beef, water, and wine, they left the island in the night of the 18th of September. In their way to Rio de Janeiro, they had an opportunity of accounting for that luminous appearance of the sea, which had been often noticed by navigators, and ascribed to various causes. They determined by experiment, fully to their satisfaction, that the flashes which they had observed, proceeded from some luminous animal. Their reception at Rio de Janeiro was very different from that which they had met with at Madeira; and it was through mere necessity that they were detained there from the 13th of November to the 7th of the following month. Here our captain was involved in certain disagreeable discussions with the viceroy, a man destitute of science, and who could not be made to comprehend the objects of the voyage. Captain Cook behaved during the whole of the dispute with spirit tempered with discretion. Leaving Rio de Janeiro, they proceeded on their voyage, and on the 13th of April 1769, anchored in Matavai Bay, in the island of Otaheite. The 3d of June was the day in which that rare occurrence, the transit of Venus was to take place. They had already fixed upon a place proper for accomplishing the grand object of their commission, and had erected an observatory, which was found to be south latitude 17 degrees, 29 minutes, 15 seconds, and west longitude 149 degrees, 32 minutes, 30 se-

conds. The astronomical quadrant, and other necessary instruments were carried on shore; but to their great grief and mortification, the quadrant was in a very few hours, not to be found. By the judicious and spirited exertions of Mr. Banks, the instrument was restored: the transit was accurately observed, an account of which was published in the sixty-first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of London.

Having already detailed the particulars of this voyage, we shall in this place only touch upon such facts as are closely connected with the subject of the article. Captain Cook remained at Otaheite till the 15th of July, after which he sailed to the Society Islands. He then proceeded to the inhospitable coasts of New Zealand, and on the 10th of October 1770, he arrived at Batavia, with his vessel nearly worn out, and a crew much fatigued and sickly. The repairs of his ship obliged him to continue in this unhealthy place, till near the end of December, during which time he lost many of his seamen and passengers, and still more on his passage to the Cape of Good Hope, which he reached on the 16th of March 1771. From the Cape he sailed to St. Helen's, where he arrived on the first of May; and on the 12th of June he came to an anchor in the Downs, having been absent almost three years, during which he had experienced every danger to which a voyage of such length is incident, displaying on all occasions a mind equal to the most perilous enterprises, and to the boldest and most daring efforts of navigation.

The manner in which he had performed his voyage round the globe, justly entitles him to the applause and favour of his sovereign, and the protection of government. He was, accordingly, promoted to be master and commander, by commission, bearing date the 29th of August 1771; on this occasion the persevering commander, from a consciousness of his own merit, was desirous of being made a post-captain,

which was refused, as being a departure from the ordinary rules of the naval service.

Shortly after his return to England, it was determined to equip two ships to complete, or rather, to extend the discoveries already made in the South Sea. He had laid before the Royal Society "an account of the flowing of the tides in the South Sea," and it had long been a prevailing idea, that the unexplored part of that sea contained another continent, and many plausible arguments had been urged in support of the opinion. To ascertain this point was the important object of Captain Cook's second voyage. Two ships were provided, equipped with uncommon care, and furnished with every necessary that could contribute to the safety, health and comfort of the navigators. The first of these commanded by Captain Cook was called the *Resolution*, a vessel of four hundred and sixty-two tons burden; the other the *Adventure* of three hundred and thirty-six tons burden, was commanded by Captain Furneaux.

They set sail in April 1772, and were out from that time to the 30th of July 1775, having during that long interval lost but one man by sickness in Captain Cook's ship, although he had sailed in all climates from fifty-one degrees north, to seventy-one degrees south, with a company of one hundred and eighteen men. On the 9th of the following August, he was promoted to the rank of post-captain, as a reward for the very able manner in which he had conducted the preceding voyage, and three days afterwards he received a more distinguished and substantial mark of the approbation of government, in being appointed one of the captains of Greenwich hospital, a situation which was intended to afford him a pleasing and honourable retirement from his labours and services.

The vast additions which Cook had made to the science of geography, navigation and astronomy, and the new views which he had opened of the di-

versified state of human life and manners, could not fail of exciting the admiration of the learned, and commanding their esteem. On the 20th of February 1776, he was unanimously chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society, to which he was admitted on the 17th of March. The same evening a paper was read which he had addressed to the president, containing an account of the method which he had taken to preserve the health of the crew of his Majesty's ship the *Resolution* during her voyage round the world. For this paper, as the best experimental essay in the year, it was resolved, by the president and council of the society, to present him with Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal. "If," says Dr. Kippis, "Captain Cook had made no important discoveries; if he had not determined the question concerning a southern continent, his name would still have been entitled to immortality, on account of his humane attention to, and his unparalleled success in preserving the lives and health of his seamen."

The captain had abundant reason, on this head, to assume the pleasurable, but modest language, with which he has concluded his narrative of his second voyage round the globe. "Whatever," says he, "may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health among a numerous ship's company, for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate, and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about the southern continent shall have ceased to engage the attention, and divide the judgment of philosophers."

One circumstance alone, says his biographer, was wanting to complete the pleasure and celebrity

arising from the assignment of Sir Godfrey Copley's medal—the hero was not there, to hear the admirable discourse of the president on that occasion, or receive the honour conferred upon him, having sailed some months previously on his last voyage. The address of the president, Sir John Pringle, was so interesting, eloquent, and forcible, that we shall, without hesitation, extract a few paragraphs from it: this will be the more gratifying to our readers, as the volume in which it is contained, has long been very scarce.

The worthy baronet having explained every thing relating to the former practice in the long voyages undertaken by king's ships, in which, says he, “our worthy brother claims no other merit than the prudent dispensation of them [the articles supplied for the voyages], but what follows, being regulations either wholly new, or improved hints from some of his experienced friends, we may justly appropriate to himself.

“First, then, he put his people at three watches, instead of two, which last is the general practice at sea; that is, he divided the whole crew into three companies, and, by ordering each company upon the watch by turns, four hours at a time, every man had eight hours free, for four of duty; whereas, at watch and watch, the half of the men being on duty at once, with returns of it every four hours, they can have but broken sleep, and when exposed to wet, they have not time to get dry before they lie down. When the service requires them, such hardships must be endured; but when there is no pressing call, ought not a mariner to be refreshed with as much uninterrupted rest as a common labourer?

“I am well informed, that an officer distinguishes himself in nothing more than in preserving his men from wet, and the other injuries of the weather. These were most essential points with this humane commander. In the torrid zone, he shaded his peo-



ple from the scorching sun by an awning over his deck; and, in his course under the antarctic circle, he had a coat provided for each man, of a substantial woollen stuff, with the addition of a hood for covering their heads. This garb (which the sailors call'd their Magellan jacket) they occasionally wore, and found it most comfortable for working in rain and snow, and among the broken ice in the high latitudes of the south.

“ Let us proceed to another article, one of the most material—the care to guard against putrefaction, by keeping clean the persons, the clothes, the bedding, and berths of the sailors. The captain acquainted me, that regularly, one morning in the week, he passed his ship's company in review, saw that every man had changed his linen, and was in other points as clean and neat as circumstances would permit. It is well known how much cleanliness is conducive to health, but it is not so obvious how much it also tends to regularity and other virtues. That diligent officer was persuaded, that such men as he could induce to be more cleanly than they were disposed to be of themselves, became at the same time more sober, more orderly, and more attentive to their duty. It must be acknowledged, that a seaman has but indifferent means to keep himself clean, had he the greatest inclination to do it; for I have not heard that commanders of ships have yet availed themselves of the Still for providing fresh water for washing; and it is well known that sea water doth not mix with soap, and that linen wet with brine never thoroughly dries. But for Captain Cook, the frequent opportunities he had of taking in water among the islands of the South Sea, enabled him in that tract to dispense to his ship's company some fresh water for every use; and when he navigated in the high latitudes of the Southern Oceans, he still more abundantly provided them with it, as you will find by the sequel of this discourse.

“ Of the hammocks and bedding, I need say little, as all officers are now sensible, how much it concerns the health of their people, to have this part of a ship’s furniture kept dry and well aired; as by the breath and perspiration of so many men, every thing below, even in the space of twenty-four hours, is apt to contract an offensive moisture. But Captain Cook was not satisfied with ordering upon deck the hammocks and bedding every day that was fair (the common practice), but took care that every bundle should be unlashd, and so spread out, that every part of it might be exposed to the air.

“ His next concern was to see to the purity of the ship itself, without which attention, all the rest would have profited little. I shall not, however, detain you with his orders about washing and scraping the decks, as I do not understand that in this kind of cleansing he excelled others; but, since our author has laid so great a stress upon fire, as a purifier, I shall endeavour to explain his way of using it, more fully than he has done in his paper. Some wood, and that not sparingly, being put into a proper stove or grate, was lighted, and carried successively to every part below deck. Wherever fire is, the air nearest to it being heated, becomes specifically lighter, and, by being lighter, rises, and passes through the hatchways into the atmosphere. The vacant space is filled with the cold air around, and that being heated in its turn, in like manner ascends, and is replaced by other air as before. Thus, by continuing the fire for some time, in any of the lower apartments, the foul air is in a good measure driven out, and the fresh admitted. This is not all: I apprehend that the acid steams of the wood, in burning, act here as an antiseptic, and correct the corrupted air that remains.

“ An officer of distinguished rank, another of Captain Cook’s experienced friends, mentioned to me a common and just observation in the fleet, which

was, that all the old twenty-gun ships were remarkably less sickly than those of the same size of a modern construction. This, he said, was a circumstance he could not otherwise account for, than by the former having their galley in the fore-part of the orlop, the chimney vented so ill, that it was sure to fill every part with smoke whenever the wind was a-stern. This was a nuisance for the time; but, as he thought, abundantly compensated by the extraordinary good health of the several crews. Possibly these fire-places were also beneficial, by drying and ventilating the lower-decks more when they were below, than they can do now that they are placed under the fore-castle upon the upper-deck.

“ But the most obvious use of the portable fires was, their drying up the moisture, and especially in those places where there was the least circulation of air. This humidity, composed of the breath and perspirable matter of a multitude of men, and often of animals (kept for a live stock) and of the steams of the bilge water from the well, where the corruption is the greatest; this putrid moisture, I say, being one of the main causes of the scurvy, was, therefore, more particularly attended to, in order to its removal. The fires were the powerful instrument for that purpose; and whilst they burned, some men were employed in rubbing hard, with canvass or oakum, every part of the inside of the ship that was damp and accessible. But the advantage of fire appears no where so manifest as in cleansing the well; for this being in the lowest part of the hold, the whole leakage runs into it, whether of the ship itself, or of the casks of spoilt meats or corrupted water. The mephitic vapours from this sink alone have often been the cause of instantaneous death to those who have unwarily approached to clean it; and not to one only, but to several successively, when they have gone down to succour their unfortunate companions. Yet this very place hath not only been rendered safe

but sweet, by means of an iron pot filled with fire, and let down to burn in it.

“ When, from the circumstances of the weather, this salutary operation could not take place, the ship was fumigated with gun-powder, as described in Captain Cook’s paper ; though that smoke could have little or no effect in drying, but only in remedying the corruption of the air, by means of the acid spirits from the sulphur and nitre, aided perhaps by some species of an aërial fluid, then disengaged from the fuel, to counteract putrefaction. But as these purifications by gunpowder, as well as by burning tar, and other resinous substances, are sufficiently known, I shall not insist longer on them here.

“ Among the several means of sweetening or renewing the air, we should expect to hear of Dr. Hales’s ventilator. I must confess it was my expectation, and, therefore, persuaded as I was of the excellence of the invention, it was not without much regret that I saw so good an opportunity lost, of giving the same favourable impression of it to the public. If a degree of success, exceeding our most sanguine hopes, is not sufficient for justifying the omission of a measure, deemed one of the most essential for attaining an end, I would plead in favour of our worthy brother, that by a humiliating fatality, so often accompanying the most useful discoveries, the credit of this ventilator is yet far from being established in the navy. What wonder then, if Captain Cook, being so much otherwise taken up, should not have had time to examine it, and therefore avoided the encumbering his ship, with an apparatus he had possibly never seen used, and of which he had at best received but a doubtful character ? Nor was he altogether unprovided with a machine for ventilation. He had the wind-sails, though he hath not mentioned them in his paper, and he told me that he had found them at times very serviceable, and particularly between the tropics. They have the merit of taking up little

room, they require no labour in working, and the contrivance is so simple, that they can fail in no hands. But their powers are small in comparison with those of Dr. Hales's ventilator: they cannot be put up in hard gales of wind, and are of no efficacy in dead calms, when a refreshment of the air is most wanted. Should there be any objection to the having them both?

“ Such were the measures taken by our sagacious navigator for procuring a purity of air. It remains only to see in what manner he supplied pure water; another article of so great moment, that the thirsty voyager, upon his salt and putrid diet, with a short allowance of that element, and that in a corrupted state, must account a plentiful provision of fresh water to be indeed the best of things.

“ Captain Cook was not without an apparatus for distilling sea-water, and though he could not obtain nearly so much as was expected from the invention, yet he sometimes availed himself of it; but for the most of his voyage he was otherwise provided. Within the southern tropic, in the Pacific Ocean, he found so many islands, and those so well stored with springs, that, as I have hinted before, he seldom was without a sufficiency of water, for every useful purpose. Yet, not satisfied with plenty, he would have the purest; and therefore whenever an opportunity offered, he emptied what he had taken in only a few days before, and filled his casks anew. But was he not above four months in his passage from the Cape of Good Hope to New Zealand, in the frozen zone of the south, without once seeing land? and did he not actually complete his courses in the other high latitudes, without the benefit of a single fountain? Here was indeed a wonder of the deep! I may call it the romance of his voyage! those very shoals, fields, and floating mountains of ice, among which he steered his perilous course, and which presented such terrifying prospects of destruction; those, I say, were

the very means of his support, by supplying him abundantly with what he most wanted. It had been said that those vast masses of ice, called islands or mountains, melted into fresh water; though Crantz, the relator of that paradox, did not imagine they originated from the sea, but that they were first formed in the great rivers of the north, and, being carried down into the ocean, were afterwards increased to that amazing height by the snow that fell upon them. But that all frozen sea-water would thaw into fresh, had either never been asserted, or had met with little credit. This is certain, that Captain Cook expected no such transmutation, and therefore was agreeably surprised to find he had one difficulty less to encounter, that of preserving the health of his men so long on salt and putrid provisions, with a scanty allowance of corrupted water, or what he could procure by distillation. The melted ice of the sea was not only fresh, but soft; and so wholesome, as to shew the fallacy of human reason unsupported by experiments. An ancient, of great authority, had assigned, from theory, bad qualities to melted snow; and, from that period to the present times, this prejudice, extending to ice, had not been quite removed.

“ In this circumnavigation, amidst sleets and falls of snow, fogs, and much moist weather, the Resolution enjoyed nearly the same state of health she had done in the temperate and torrid zones. It appears only from the journal of the surgeon, that, towards the end of the several courses, some of the crew began to complain of the scurvy; but the disease made little progress, excepting in one who had become early an invalid from another cause. The other disorders were likewise neither numerous nor fatal, such as colds in various forms, slight diarrhœas, and intermittants that readily yielded to the bark. There were also some continued fevers, but which, by timely care, never rose to an alarming height. Much commendation is therefore due to the attention and abili-

ties of Mr. Patten, the surgeon of the *Resolution*, for having so well seconded his captain in the discharge of his duty. For it must be allowed, that, in despite of the best regulations and the best provisions, there will always be, among a numerous crew, during a long voyage, some casualties more or less productive of sickness; and, unless there be an intelligent medical assistant on board, many, under the wisest commander, will perish, that otherwise might have been saved.

“ These, gentlemen, are the reflections I had to lay before you on this interesting subject; and, if I have encroached on your time, you will recollect that much of my discourse hath been employed in explaining some things but just mentioned by Captain Cook, and in adding other materials, which I had procured partly in conversation with himself, and partly, after his departure, with those intelligent friends he alludes to in his paper. This was my plan, which, as I have now executed, you will please to return your thanks to those gentlemen, who, on your account, so cheerfully communicated to me their observations.

“ As to your acknowledgments to Captain Cook, and your high opinion of his deserts, you will best testify them by the honourable distinction suggested by your council, in presenting him with this medal: for I need not gather your suffrages, since the attention, with which you have favoured me, hath abundantly expressed your approbation. My satisfaction, therefore, had been complete, had he himself been present to receive the honours you now confer upon him. But you are apprized that our brave and indefatigable brother is at this instant far removed from us, anticipating, I may say, your wonted request on these occasions, by continuing his labours for the advancement of natural knowledge, and for the honour of this Society; as you may be assured, that the object of his new enterprise is not less great, perhaps still greater, than either of the former.

“ Allow me then, gentlemen, to deliver this medal, with his unperishing name engraven upon it, into the hands of one who will be happy to receive that trust, and to know that this respectable body never more cordially nor more meritoriously bestowed that faithful symbol of their esteem and affection. For if Rome decreed the civic crown to him who saved the life of a single citizen, what wreaths are due to that man, who, having himself saved many, perpetuates in your transactions the means by which Britain may now, on the most distant voyages, preserve numbers of her intrepid sons, her mariners; who, braving every danger, have so liberally contributed to the fame, to the opulence, and to the maritime empire, of their country !”

The want of success which attended Captain Cook's attempt to discover a southern continent, did not prevent another plan being resolved on which had been under consideration some time. A grand question remained to be determined, and that was the practicability of a northern passage to the Pacific Ocean. The dangers which our navigator had twice braved and escaped, would have exempted him from being solicited a third time to venture his person in unknown countries, among desert islands, inhospitable coasts, and in the midst of savages: but on his opinion being asked as to a person most proper to execute this design, he was fired with the magnificence of the project, and the consequences of it to the interests of science and navigation, and determined, without hesitation, to relinquish the delights of domestic life, and to engage in new and arduous undertakings if thereby he might serve his country and the world. His services were no sooner offered than they were most gratefully accepted. He received his appointment on the 10th of February 1776, and sailed from Plymouth Sound in the *Resolution*, accompanied by Captain Clerke in the *Discovery*, on the 12th day of the following July. Of this voyage



we have already given a detailed account, it will therefore be sufficient, if in this place, we observe that he completely fulfilled the end of the expedition, by demonstrating in the most satisfactory manner, the impracticability of a passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic Ocean, a second grand object of geographical enquiry which he had solved by his indefatigable exertions. Intelligence had already arrived of what he had done, and of the discoveries which he had made; while, however, his friends were waiting with the most earnest solicitude for tidings concerning him, and the whole nation expressed an anxious impatience for a public announcement of the result of his long voyage, advice was received from Captain Clerke, in a letter dated at Kamtschatka, that our illustrious and never-to-be-forgotten navigator had lost his life in an affray with the natives of Owhyhee, on the 14th of February 1779. The particulars of that event we have already given in the words of the surgeon on board the *Discovery*, which have been amply authenticated by other persons who were eyewitnesses of the melancholy termination of the captain's life. See p. 231.

It will be sufficient now to endeavour to form an estimate of the character and talents of this great man; for this we shall be indebted, as we have been, in the former part of the article to the labours of the indefatigable editor of the *New Cyclopaedia*, who, with his usual industry, and great judgment, has collected the various testimonies of the captain's professed and incidental biographers.

“Captain Cook,” says he, “possessed, in an eminent degree, an inventive mind, which, by its native vigour, suggested noble objects of pursuit, and the most effectual methods of prosecuting and attaining them. This faculty he exemplified in a great variety of critical and difficult situations. To this kind of genius he added unwearied application. By his genius and unremitting assiduity, he acquired an exten-

sive acquaintance, not only with navigation, but with many other sciences. He was so well informed with regard to different branches of the mathematics, and particularly in astronomy, that he was able to take the lead in various observations of an astronomical kind, in the course of his voyages. In general literature, and even the art of composition, he was so great a proficient, that he acquired reputation, not merely as the performer, but as the narrator, of his various interesting enterprises. Perseverance and steadiness in the prosecution of the objects to which his life was devoted, were distinguishing features of his character; and such was the invincible fortitude of his spirit, that no difficulties or dangers intimidated him or deterred him from accomplishing any purpose which he formed, or which the hazardous services assigned him required. His fortitude was of course accompanied with complete self-possession. This latter quality was eminently useful to him in many critical and trying circumstances. Accordingly it is observed, that the calmness and composure of his mind were such, that, after having given necessary directions, he could take his rest, and sleep during the hours which he allotted to himself with perfect soundness. To the great qualities possessed by Captain Cook, he added the most amiable and conciliatory virtues. His humanity is illustrated in the whole course of his conduct during his successive voyages; with regard to the inhabitants of the countries which he visited, and with respect to the accommodation, health, and comfort, of his own seamen. In the private relations of life, he maintained an excellent and exemplary character as a husband and father, and as a sincere and steady friend; and his sobriety and virtue gave stability and security to every other moral qualification. He was also distinguished by the simplicity of his manners. In conversation he was unaffected and unassuming; and yet, on necessary occasions, obliging and communicative. To this general account of his talents and

virtues, we shall subjoin some delineations of his character by those who were in habits of intimate acquaintance with him, and who had an opportunity of marking his temper and conduct in the various trying circumstances that occurred in the course of his life. Captain King, the continuator of the journal of his last voyage, has given us the following sketch of his character: "The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. His stomach bore, without difficulty, the coarsest and most ungrateful food. Indeed, temperance in him was scarcely a virtue; so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy, vigorous kind, with those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicacious; his judgment, in whatever related to the services he was engaged in, quick and sure. His designs were bold and manly; and both in the conception, and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a great original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected. His temper might, perhaps, have been justly blamed, as subject to hastiness and passion, had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane. Such were the outlines of Captain Cook's character; but its most distinguished feature was that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was not only superior to the opposition of dangers and the pressure of hardships, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptation could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation, which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing, that persons who have experienced

the fatigues of service, will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs." (See *King's Voyage*, vol. iii. p. 48, 49.) Mr. Samwell has also annexed some particulars relative to the life and character of Captain Cook, to the "Narrative of his Death." Dr. Reinhold Forster has also, with some abatement, passed an eulogium on his character, in his "History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North." The following tribute to his memory, —the memory of "the ablest and most renowned navigator this or any other country hath produced,"—is drawn up by one of his own profession, Lord Mulgrave, of whom it is said, that he is not more distinguished by the elevation of rank, than by the dignity of private virtues. (See Introduction to Cook's third voyage, Vol. I. p. 85—87, &c.) "Captain James Cook," says this writer, "possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualifications requisite for his profession and great undertakings; together with the amiable and worthy qualities of the best men. Cool and deliberate in judging; sagacious in determining; active in executing; steady and persevering in enterprise, with vigilance and unremitting caution; unsubdued by labours, difficulties and disappointments; fertile in expedients; never wanting presence of mind; always possessing himself, and the full use of a sound understanding. Mild, just, but exact in discipline: he was a father to his people, who were attached to him from affection, and obedient from confidence. His knowledge, his experience, his sagacity, rendered him so entirely master of his subject, that the greatest obstacles were surmounted, and the most dangerous navigations became easy, and almost safe, under his direction. He explored the southern hemisphere to a much higher latitude than had been ever reached, and with fewer accidents than frequently befall those who navigate

the coasts of this island. By his benevolent and unabating attention to the welfare of his ship's company, he discovered and introduced a system for the preservation of the health of seamen in long voyages, which has proved wonderfully efficacious: for in his second voyage round the world, which continued upwards of three years, he lost only one man by distemper, of one hundred and eighteen, of which his company consisted. The death of this eminent and valuable man was a loss to mankind in general; and particularly to be deplored by every nation that respects useful accomplishments, that honours science, and loves the benevolent and amiable affections of the heart. It is still more to be deplored by this country, which may justly boast of having produced a man hitherto unequalled for nautical talents: and that sorrow is farther aggravated by the reflection, that his country was deprived of this ornament, by the enmity of a people, from whom, indeed, it might have been dreaded, but from whom it was not deserved. For, actuated always by the most attentive care and tender compassion for the savages in general, this excellent man was ever assiduously endeavouring, by kind treatment, to dissipate their fears and court their friendship; overlooking their thefts and treacheries, and frequently interposing, at the hazard of his life, to protect them from the sudden resentment of his own injured people. The object of his last mission was, to discover and ascertain the boundaries of Asia and America, and to penetrate into the northern ocean by the north east cape of Asia.

“ Traveller! contemplate, admire, revere, and emulate this great master in his profession: whose skill and labours have enlarged natural philosophy; have extended nautical science, and have disclosed the long unsealed and admirable arrangement of the Almighty, in the formation of this globe, and, at the same time, the arrogance of mortals in presuming to account, by their speculations, for the laws by which

he was pleased to create it. It is now discovered, beyond all doubt, that the same Great Being, who created the universe by his fiat, by the same, ordained our earth to keep a just poise, without a corresponding southern continent—and it was so! ‘He stretches out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing.’ Job, xxxvi. 7. If the arduous, but exact, researches of this extraordinary man have not discovered a new world, they have discovered seas, unnavigated and unknown before. They have made us acquainted with islands, people, and productions, of which we had no conception. And if he has not been so fortunate as Americus, to give his name to a continent, his pretensions to such a distinction remain unrivalled; and he will be revered, while there remains a page of his own modest account of his voyage, and as long as mariners and geographers shall be instructed by his new map of the southern hemisphere, to trace the various courses and discoveries he has made. If public services merit public acknowledgments; if the man who adorned and raised the fame of his country is deserving of honour, then Captain Cook deserves to have a monument raised to his memory, by a generous and grateful nation.

*Virtutis uberrimum alimentum est honos.*

VAL. MAX. I. ii. c. 6.

From the numerous poetical tributes, paid to the memory of Captain Cook, by our elegant female writers, we must confine ourselves to a single extract from Miss Hannah More’s poem on “Slavery.”

“ Had those advent’rous spirits who explore  
Thro’ ocean’s trackless wastes, the far-sought shore,  
Whether of wealth insatiate, or of power,  
Conquerors who waste, or ruffians who devour:  
Had these possessed, O Cook! thy gentle mind,  
Thy love of arts, thy love of human kind;  
Had these pursu’d thy mild and liberal plan,  
Discoverers had not been a curse to man!

Then bless'd Philanthropy ! thy social hands  
 Had link'd dissever'd worlds in brother's bands ;  
 Careless, if colour, or if clime divide ;  
 Then lov'd, and loving, man had liv'd and died."

Miss Seward's admirable poem in celebration of Captain Cook's memory, would have furnished many pleasing extracts, if our limits allowed our farther enlarging on this interesting article ; but we must refer the reader to this lady's elegy on the occasion.

The Royal Society testified their respect for the memory of their illustrious member, by medals, struck on this occasion, some of gold, others of silver, and others of bronze ; the expence of which was defrayed by subscription. On one side is the head of Captain Cook in profile, and round it, *Jac. Cook, oceani investigator acerrimus* ; and on the exergue, *Reg. Soc. Lond. Socio suo*. On the reverse is a representation of Britannia holding a globe ; round her is inscribed, *Nil intentatum nostri liquere* ; and on the exergue, *Auspiciis Georgii III.*

Among the numerous testimonies of regard that have been rendered to the merits and memory of Captain Cook, the important object of providing for his family hath not been forgotten. Soon after his death was known, the lords of the Admiralty presented a memorial to his Majesty ; and he was pleased, by the advice of his privy council, to order a pension of 200*l.* a year to be settled on the widow, and 25*l.* a year to each of the three sons of the captain. A considerable benefit also redounded to his family from the sale of the charts and plans, belonging to the voyage to the Pacific ocean, which were provided at the expence of government. On September the 3d, 1785, a coat of arms was granted to the family, with an appropriate device. Our navigator had six children. On the subject of this article, see the first, second, and third voyages of Cook ; the first included in Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, published in 3 vols. 4to.

1773. The second, written by Captain Cook himself, and published in 2 vols. 4to. in 1777, and the third published in 3 vols. 4to. in 1784; the two first being written by Captain Cook, and the third by Captain King. To the first of these volumes is prefixed an introduction by Dr. Douglas, the late bishop of Salisbury, containing a brief historical account of voyages that had been previously performed with a view to the objects comprehended by those of Captain Cook, a concise statement of his discoveries, and a detail of the advantages resulting from them. See also Kippis's *Life of Captain Cook*, and *Biog. Brit.* Vol. IV.

## CAPTAIN DAVID CHEAP

WAS promoted, by Commodore Anson, from the rank of lieutenant to be commander of the *Trial* sloop of war, on the 3d of November, 1740. He was advanced by the same gentleman to be captain of the *Wager* on the 19th of February, 1740, as successor to Captain Murray, who was promoted to the *Pearl*. The distresses encountered by the squadron in its passage round Cape Horn, have been already referred to: these were not felt by any ship more severely than by the *Wager*. Captain Cheap possessed the greatest activity and zeal for the service of his country. He was exposed in the ship least capable of any in the squadron to resist the violence of such a continued and tremendous tempest; nevertheless, perfectly aware of the consequence the *Wager* was of to the expedition, having on board all the stores, cannon, and ammunition, necessary to any land operation, he exerted himself to the utmost to keep company with the squadron, though during the greater part of the time, he was so ill as to be almost incapable of quitting his cabin.

On the 8th of April the *Wager* lost her mizen-mast.



In about ten days afterwards she parted company with the commodore, and every ship in the squadron. The tempestuous weather still continued with unabated violence: the ship was reduced to a mere wreck, and the crew so debilitated by sickness and the scurvy, that by the beginning of May there were scarcely twenty persons capable of duty. To add, if possible, to their distress, Captain Cheap, on the ship's falling-in with the land on the 13th of May, exerting himself to work the ship off the shore, had the misfortune to fall and dislocate his shoulder, an accident which rendered him incapable of keeping the deck, or any longer encouraging the people by his presence and example. At this time all the crew capable of service amounted only to twelve persons, officers included: and, as it might have been thought, to conclude at once their sufferings, at half past four o'clock on the morning of the 14th of May, the ship struck upon a sunken rock: from this she luckily beat off, but in a very short time afterwards struck and grounded between two small islands, a spot to which, as it afterwards appeared, they were providentially driven, for the safety of their lives, as few other situations could have been found in which the people could have been preserved from instant destruction.

Soon as day-light appeared, the boats were launched over the ship's side, and the barge sent on shore for the purpose of discovering whether the place was inhabited, which was quickly found not to be the case. Happily for Captain Cheap, and the miserable remains of his unfortunate though meritorious crew, the ship did not go to pieces for a very considerable time after her being stranded, so that a great quantity of provisions and other necessaries were preserved, without which they must all have inevitably perished. Immediately on the loss of the ship, notwithstanding the very distressed situation of the people, a scene of anarchy and confusion took place

among the crew, owing to an idea at that time prevalent, that in cases of wreck all command ceased; nor could regularity and order have been restored, except by the most spirited exertions of Captain Cheap and some few of the principal officers, who remained faithful and true to him. Among the chief and principal excitors of this mutiny and disturbance, was a man of the name of Cozens, who, though of a very mean family in the county of Somerset, had, through the interest of some friends, been introduced into the naval service as a midshipman. This person had, on many occasions, behaved not only with the most intolerable insolence to the captain, for which he was at one time very deservedly put in confinement, but had actually endeavoured to render the situation of his unhappy fellow-sufferers still more desperate than it naturally was, by embezzling some of the stores which were saved, and destroying others. On the 10th of June, nearly a month after the loss of the ship, one of the men, on what account is not particularly mentioned, had his allowance of wine stopped: this coming to the knowledge of Cozens, who had for some days very impudently taken upon himself the office of a reformer, he immediately went to the purser and demanded the reason. That gentleman conceiving the behaviour of Cozens as the prelude to a mutiny, discharged a pistol at him, which was prevented from taking effect by the cooper having canted the purser's elbow at the instant it went off. Captain Cheap hearing the disturbance, ran out of his tent with a cocked pistol, and, when in the act of coming out, being informed by the lieutenant of marines, that Cozens was endeavouring to raise a mutiny, he discharged his pistol at the offender, the ball from which lodged in his cheek. This act proved the cause of much subsequent misery to the scarcely more happy survivors.

Cozens died on the 14th day: and as persons of his

character scarcely fail of being what is called popular among those of the lowest rank, so did his death rather encrease than allay the turbulent dissatisfaction of his adherents, who, without the smallest regard to truth, insisted that the neglect shewn to him after being wounded, in consequence of the captain's interference and influence, was as much the cause of his death as the wound itself. Captain Cheap was a man of considerable ability as a seaman, and to his maritime knowledge added a zeal for the service of his country, which it is not, perhaps, passing too great an encomium on him, to say, has never been exceeded. The ship he commanded was the storeship of the squadron; the artillery, ammunition, and other articles necessary for the intended enterprise against Baldivia were on board her: this consideration induced the captain to combat every difficulty and distress previously to the loss of the ship, knowing well, that without his junction with the commodore, the principal intention of the expedition must be frustrated. The same degree of spirit induced him afterwards to strain every nerve, by his influence over the people, and by a most exemplary display of his own personal intrepidity, in hopes of inducing them to attempt joining the commodore at the Island of Juan Fernandes, the second rendezvous, well knowing that a reinforcement of so many men in tolerable health, which they had wonderfully recovered after being put on shore, even in that inhospitable climate, must be a considerable acquisition to a force originally weak, and now much, as he truly supposed, diminished by sickness.

The preliminary measure to so bold and enterprising an undertaking was lengthening the ship's long-boat, so that it might be able to convey thither the people, amounting in number to upwards of one hundred, with the provisions necessary for their support during the passage: but the fatal accident we have just had occasion to recount, encreased the dis-

turbances among the people to such a height, that they, at length, peremptorily refused to obey their commander; and in diametrical opposition to his proposal, determined on attempting, as soon as the boat should be completed, to return back through the Straits of Magellan.

A formal resolution to this effect was entered into on the 2d of August, and signed by the gunner, carpenter, master, boatswain, many of the petty officers, and the greater part of the crew, some engaging through affection to, and some through fear of the malcontents. The long-boat being completed in the best manner circumstances would admit of, was launched on the 12th of October, at day-light, and called the *Speedwell*. Three or four days before this time, Captain Cheap, together with Lieutenant Hamilton of the land forces, his brave and faithful friend and adherent, were put under an arrest by Captain Pemberton of the marines, supported by Mr. Beans, who had been the lieutenant of the ship. This very extraordinary and unwarrantable conduct towards the former, was justified on the frivolous paltry charge of his having been guilty of murder in shooting Cozens; and against the latter on no other pretext than his having, on all occasions, firmly espoused the cause of his commanding officer. Nevertheless, when the long-boat was about to depart, it was agreed to leave him behind, with Mr. Hamilton, the surgeon, and eight deserters who had quitted their companions soon after the loss of the ship, and to give them the pinnace, with fourteen pieces of beef, as many of pork, and one hundred and ninety pounds of flour for their support. This party was afterwards joined by several other seceders from the main body, among which were the honourable Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbell, midshipmen. By these means their number was at last increased to twenty; and the barge also was left with them for their conveyance.

The long-boat put to sea and left them about the middle of October ; but Captain Cheap and his companions did not set out for Chiloe, the most southern of the Spanish settlements on that coast, and consequently the nearest where they could expect any effectual relief, till the 15th of December. After having in vain combated all the dangers of that tempestuous sea for nearly two months, they were obliged to put back to the desolate spot from whence they had set out : but a party of Indians coming in there about a fortnight after their arrival, their chief, or cacique, was prevailed on to undertake conducting them to the northward in their barge, on condition of being rewarded with it for his trouble.

Their number, now reduced to thirteen, accordingly embarked, attended by the Indians in two canoes : but after they had proceeded some way on their voyage, Captain Cheap, with the rest of the officers, having gone on shore in the hope of procuring a supply of provisions, the men left in the barge, took that opportunity of abandoning them, and sailing away. The Indian chief was at this time absent, having got out to kill seal ; and on his return, though the barge, which was to have been his reward, was gone, he was nevertheless prevailed on to fulfil his engagement to the miserable remnant left behind, consisting only of Captain Cheap, Lieutenant Hamilton, Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Byron. This compliance, however, was not the mere result of compassion, a fowling-piece, belonging to Mr. Byron, and some trifles contributed by the captain, induced their guide to proceed with them to the Island of Chiloe, where, Mr. Hamilton, unable to proceed, having been left under the best Indian care that country afforded, the remainder arrived in safety, after experiencing almost every difficulty and species of suffering that the human body was capable of undergoing, without an absolute extinction of life.

It was the month of June, thirteen months after

the loss of the ship, ere they reached Chiloe. The weather was uncommonly severe, the ground covered to a great depth with snow : it nevertheless appeared to the distressed travellers a paradise, compared to the desert coast which they had been so long accustomed to ; and the poor inhabitants received them with all the hospitality their own wretched state would permit them to display. Captain Cheap and his companions were very soon afterwards conveyed to Castro, a large Spanish town at some distance, and from thence to Chace. Here they were again joined by Mr. Hamilton, who was brought forward by a party of men sent to the southward, by the governor, for that purpose. On the 2d of January, 1742-3, they all embarked on board a ship which annually sails from Chiloe to Lima, and after a passage of six days, arrived safe at Valparaiso, a port in Chili, where they were again landed. After a stay of some days, Captain Cheap and Mr. Hamilton, having preserved their commissions, were known to be officers, and were conducted to St. Jago, the capital of the province. They continued at this place some time, during which they were treated with the utmost hospitality and attention ; and the captain, Mr. Hamilton, together with Mr. Byron, by whom they had been joined some time before, embarked, on the 20th of December, 1744, in a French ship bound from Lima to Spain ; and, without experiencing any remarkable accident or occurrence, came to an anchor, in Brest Road, on the 27th of October, 1745. They afterwards got on board a Dutch dogger, the captain of which engaged to land them at Dover ; but, as if inconvenience and disappointment were destined to attend them to the last moment of this perilous and disastrous voyage, they would have been, as is reported in Mr. Byron's narrative, treacherously set on shore in France, had they not been fortunate enough to fall in with the Squirrel frigate, which taking them on board put a period to this scene of misery by landing them in England.

Captain Cheap arrived in London on the 24th of March, 1746, and was soon afterwards appointed captain of the Lark; in which vessel, being ordered out on a cruise, he had the good fortune to capture a large and valuable Spanish prize off the Island of Madeira, being then in company with Captain Charles Saunders. After his return from this successful expedition we do not believe him to have gone to sea, or held any command, at least, we do not find any mention made of him in the service. For this and the next article we are wholly indebted to the *Biographia Navalis*, and we have brought it in here in order to connect it with that of Admiral Byron.

## HONOURABLE JOHN BYRON

Was the second son of William, fourth Lord Byron, and Frances his third wife, second daughter of William, Lord Berkeley of Stratton. He was born on the 8th of November, 1723; and having betaken himself to a naval life, was appointed a midshipman about the year 1731; he afterwards served on board the Wager storeship. In this vessel he sailed, in the month of September, 1740, for the South Seas, with the squadron under the orders of Commodore Anson. The distresses which he experienced after the loss of that ill-fated ship have been recounted in the preceding article.

Pursuing the generally received account, we have stated, that the barge was, after the secession of Mr. Byron and Mr. Campbell, left behind for their convenience by the people who had embarked in the long-boat. The story, as related by Mr. Byron, is widely different: these gentlemen, according to his narrative, had joined the majority in their opinion of proceeding to the southward, only because they conceived that Captain Cheap, and all the persons

saved from the wreck, were to be carried with them; but when they found that gentleman, the surgeon, and Lieutenant Hamilton of the marines, with some deserters, were intended to be left behind, he seized the favourable opportunity of returning the next day to Captain Cheap, with all that had embarked in the barge, ten in number, being sent back by the people in the long-boat for some canvas which had been imprudently left behind. Captain Cheap, on this new accession of force, resolved to resume his original project of proceeding to the northward to the Island of Chiloe, where it was hoped they might, by boarding and cutting her out, possess themselves of a Spanish vessel, in which they could, with the greater probability of success, attempt their return to Europe, or, what was still uppermost in Captain Cheap's thoughts, proceed to the northward in quest of the commodore.

On this expedition they proceeded about the middle of December, and in about three weeks afterwards had the misfortune to lose the yawl, which was upset and sunk. By this lamentable accident one of their companions was drowned; and they were compelled to leave four others behind, the barge being incapable of containing their whole number. This misfortune, added to the other distresses they experienced, compelled them to abandon their original design, and return, with much reluctance, to Wager Island, where they arrived in the greatest extremity of distress, after an absence of two months.

On the arrival of their reduced party at Valparaiso, which they did not reach till the month of January, 1742, they were confined in the common dungeon of the fort, from which Captain Cheap and Lieutenant Hamilton were taken and sent up to St. Jago, as their commissions, which they had fortunately preserved, proved them to be officers. Mr. Byron, and his companion Campbell, who were left behind in prison, not long afterwards, in consequence of the represen-



tation of Captain Cheap, were also sent for to St. Jago, which is the capital of the province.

At St. Jago they continued two years treated with the utmost hospitality and tenderness. One anecdote, related by Mr. Byron himself, is too honourable to the general character of the Spanish nation to be suppressed.

“Two or three days after our arrival, the president sent Mr. Campbell and me an invitation to dine with him, where we were to meet Admiral Pizarro and all his officers. This was a cruel stroke upon us, as we had not any clothes fit to appear in, and dared not refuse the invitation. The next day a Spanish officer, belonging to Admiral Pizarro’s squadron, whose name was Don Manuel De Guiror, came and made us an offer of two thousand dollars. This generous Spaniard made the offer without any view of ever being repaid, but purely out of a compassionate motive of relieving us in our present distress. We returned him all the acknowledgments his uncommonly generous behaviour merited, and accepted of six hundred dollars only, upon his receiving our draught for that sum upon the English consul at Lisbon. We now got ourselves decently clothed after the Spanish fashion; and, as we were upon our parole, went out where we pleased to divert ourselves.”

After having continued thus comfortably situated for two years, a French ship, bound from Lima to Spain, put into Valparaiso, in consequence of which they were sent thither, and embarked for Europe about the end of December, 1744. This vessel was called the *Lys*, and belonged to St. Maloe’s. There were, exclusive of Mr. Byron and his fellow-sufferers, several passengers of consequence on board; among whom was the well-known ingenious Don Juan D’Ulloa, who had been in Peru many years, employed in making astronomical and other useful observations. The *Lys* was bound in the first instance to the Bay of Conception, where she was to be joined by three other

French ships, belonging, as well as herself, to France. But though Talcaguana, the place of their destination, was only sixty leagues distant from Valparaiso, owing to the lee current and southerly wind, they did not arrive there till the 6th of January. They sailed from thence in three weeks afterwards, in company with the *Louis Erasme*, the *Marquis D'Antin*, and the *Deliverance*, all which were taken by the English; two by a squadron of private ships of war, called the *Royal Family Privateers*; and the third by *Commodore Warren*, off *Louisbourg*. In eight or nine days after they sailed, the *Lys* sprung a leak, and was compelled to put back to Valparaiso, a circumstance, which, in all probability, preserved her from sharing the same fate.

The injury was, however, repaired, and they again put to sea on the 1st of March, 1745. After a tedious, and in some respects disagreeable passage round *Cape Horn*, and along the coast of America, which was, however, happily unaccompanied by any misfortune, they were compelled to bear away for the West Indies, their stock of water not being considered sufficient to last them to Europe. They arrived at *Cape François*, on the 8th of July, having, in the first instance, narrowly escaped destruction, being hurried through the *Granadilloes*, in the night, without the knowledge of any person on board; and being afterwards almost as singularly, according to *Mr. Byron's* account, preserved from being captured by two English ships of war, who gave up the chace in the night.

Their distresses were now, however, nearly drawn to a period; for on the 29th of October they made *Cape Ortugal*, and on the 31st came to an anchor in *Brest Road*. After their arrival at that port, they were all confined on board the ship, and treated with much asperity, not the smallest civility or attention being paid them by way of alleviating their situation. Our travellers were not, however, long in

this disagreeable state; for about eight days afterwards they were conveyed to a town called Lander-naw, situated about four leagues up the river. Here they continued on their parole for three months, at the end of which time an order came from the court of Spain, permitting them to return to England by the first ship that offered. They accordingly repaired to Morlaix, having received intelligence that a Dutch vessel lay there, on board which it was probable they might procure a passage. After a detention of six weeks, in consequence of the vessel not being ready, they at last embarked, having stipulated for a certain price, which was paid beforehand, to be landed at Doyer: but, as if Providence had ordained that this wretched and persecuted triumvirate should be attended by vexation to the latest moment, they were in the most tyrannical and arbitrary manner prevented from sailing for three days by a French privateer, who threatened to sink them if they attempted it, before he himself was ready for sea.

When they at last got out, their passage was long, tedious, and uncomfortable. The master of the vessel betrayed, as we observed in our account of Captain Cheap, a strong inclination to reland them in France, in breach of his positive agreement. But the Squirrel, an English ship of war, coming up with the Dutchman, took out Mr. Byron, with his companions, and landed them the same afternoon at Doyer.

Immediately on his arrival, after undergoing this series of difficulties, five years in continuance, he was promoted to be commander of a sloop of war; and from thence advanced, on the 30th of December following (1746), to be captain of the Syren frigate. After this no mention is made of him during the war: not long after its conclusion he was appointed to the St. Alban's, and ordered for the Coast of Guinea, with Commodore Buckle. On his return to England, in January, 1753, he was appointed to the

Augusta, of sixty guns, then ordered to be equipped for a guardship at Plymouth. From this ship he was, before the expiration of the time usually allotted to such commands, promoted to the Vanguard, of seventy guns, a ship ordered to be fitted for sea at Plymouth, in the beginning of the year 1755, a rupture being then daily apprehended with France. He did not long continue in this command, nor while he did retain it was he ordered on any service memorable enough to merit a particular account of. In 1757, he was captain of the America, a sixty-gun ship, one of the armament employed on the successful expedition against Rochfort, under Sir Edward Hawke. At the close of this year he was sent out senior officer of a very small squadron, consisting of his own ship, the America, with the Brilliant and Coventry frigates, ordered to cruise off the coast of France. While absent on this service he fell in with a very valuable ship, laden with furs, from Quebec, called the Diamond, which endeavouring to get away, and firing her stern chase in the hope of facilitating her escape, her after-part blew up, and the vessel itself also, after burning with great fury for half an hour. Twenty-four only of her crew, out of seventy, were saved, and many of these so miserably scorched, that they died soon afterwards. The frigates had greater success; the Coventry having captured, after a short action, the Dragon, a large privateer belonging to Bayonne, a new ship, on her first cruise, carrying twenty-four nine-pounders, and two hundred and eighty-four men. The Brilliant about the same time sunk, by the discharge of her first broadside, the Intrepide, a French privateer belonging to the same port as the former, carrying fourteen guns and one hundred and thirty men, ten of whom were killed, but the whole of the remainder taken up by the Brilliant's boats.

No other material mention is made of Mr. Byron

till the early part of the year 1760, when he commanded the *Fame*, of seventy-four guns, and was ordered to Louisbourg with some transports, having on board a proper number of artificers and engineers, who were sent thither for the purpose of demolishing the fortifications of that once important place. While absent there, he had, in the month of July, the good fortune to effect a very meritorious piece of service. Having received information from the governor of Louisbourg, that some French ships of war, with store-ships, were in Chaleur Bay, he proceeded thither in quest of them, with his own ship, the *Repulse*, and *Scarborough*. He succeeded in destroying the whole, consisting of three frigates, the *Marchault*, of thirty-two guns; the *Bienfaisant*, of twenty-two; and the *Marquis Marlose*, of eighteen, with twenty schooners, sloops, and small privateers, having on board some troops, with a considerable quantity of provisions and stores.

Captain Byron returned from Louisbourg, and arrived in safety at Plymouth, towards the end of November. We believe him, though no farther particular mention is made of him, to have continued in the *Fame* nearly, if not entirely, till the end of the war. Soon after peace had taken place, it was resolved to send out a small force on a voyage of discovery; and Mr. Byron, in consequence of his universally acknowledged judgment and skill in the art of navigation, was pitched upon to command it. See Vol. V. p. 162—177.

Mr. Byron, after his return, held no command till the year 1769, when he was, on the 3d of June, appointed governor of Newfoundland: he sailed thither two days afterwards. He held this appointment during the length of time usually allotted to it, returning to Europe at the accustomed periods. During the latter part of the time he had his broad pendant on board the *Panther*, of sixty guns; but in what

ship, in the earlier part of his command, we are ignorant.

After the expiration of the time of his appointment at Newfoundland, he had no appointment, while he continued a private captain. On March 31, 1775, he was advanced to be rear admiral of the blue; as he moreover was, on the 28th of April, 1777, to be rear-admiral of the white; on the 23d of January, 1778, to be rear-admiral of the red; and, in two days afterwards, to be vice-admiral of the blue. The hostile intentions of France becoming at this time extremely apparent, and it being discovered by administration that a strong squadron of twelve ships of the line, commanded by the well-known Count D'Estaing, was actually equipped and under orders to sail, as it was supposed, to America, Mr. Byron was chosen to command a squadron of nearly the same force, which was ordered thither for the purpose of counteracting their interference. Mr. Byron sailed on the 9th of June, and the squadron being attacked by a violent gale of wind, on the 3d of July, was almost completely dispersed. Mr. Byron, who had his flag on board the *Princess Royal*, of ninety guns, arrived alone off Sandy Hook on the 18th of August, and found M. D'Estaing at anchor there before him, in such a station as to prevent all possibility of his getting either into New York or Rhode Island: he consequently bore away for Halifax, which he reached in safety on the 26th.

Having repaired the trivial injuries the ship received on its passage, he sailed from Halifax to New York, in order to join Lord Howe, with all the force he had been able to collect. This consisted of no more than his own ship, the *Culloden*, of seventy-four guns; the *Diamond* frigate, with the *Dispatch* and *Hope* sloops of war. But the enemy, after a trivial skirmish with some of the English ships put into Boston, in New England, as well for the pur-

pose of repairing the damages they had sustained on that occasion, as to prepare, in other respects, for a voyage to the West Indies, whither they were bound. Mr. Byron having collected his whole force, followed thither in pursuit, and arrived in time, at the beginning of the year 1779, to prevent any farther attack from being made on Mr. Barrington, who had with a force, comparatively speaking, contemptible, not only withstood the utmost efforts of the French admiral, but had made himself master of the Island of St. Lucia, even in his sight. Some succeeding months were spent in watching each other, during which time both sides received reinforcements; but the enemy still retained a manifest superiority, both in numbers and in the size of their ships. Such was the situation of affairs, when in the beginning of July, the vice-admiral having received intelligence that the French fleet, in very great force, had been discovered from St. Vincent's, immediately put to sea in pursuit of them; when on his passage to Grenada, he received advice that the island was attacked by a force not exceeding nineteen ships of the line. He hastened thither with all possible speed, and arrived off St. George's Bay, where the enemy lay at anchor, soon after day-light. On the 6th of July, immediate measures were taken to bring them to a close and decisive action: but the enemy's fleet, when completely formed, was found to consist of twenty-seven ships of the line instead of nineteen, which had been before stated as their highest force. Notwithstanding this great superiority, the whole of Mr. Byron's force amounting to twenty-one sail only, seven or eight of which were of sixty-four guns, while very few in M. D'Estaing's fleet carried less than seventy-four; the latter most industriously avoided a close action, a point he was enabled, from the great superiority his ships possessed in point of sailing, to carry into effect. The encounter of course produced nothing decisive: encumbered as

Mr. Byron was with a numerous fleet of transports, he was unable to effect any thing farther, and Grenada of course fell into their hands. Mr. Byron himself, in his dispatches, makes the following remark on the enemy's conduct :

“Although it was evident, throughout the whole day, that they resolved to avoid a close engagement, I could not allow myself to think, that, with a force so greatly superior, the French admiral would allow us to carry off the transports unmolested.”

Mr. Byron soon after this event returned to England in a frigate, leaving the command with Rear-admiral Parker, and never accepted of any subsequent command. On the 19th of March, 1779, while absent in the West Indies, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the white, which was the highest rank he lived to attain.

He died on the 10th of April, 1786, with the universal and justly-acquired reputation of a brave and excellent officer, but, of a man, extremely unfortunate. He married in August, 1748, Sophia, daughter of John Trevanion, Esq. of Carhays, in the county of Cornwall, who died in May, 1786. By her he had issue two sons: John, born February the 7th, 1756; and George Anson, afterwards a captain in the navy, born November the 30th, 1758, died June 10, 1793: as also seven daughters, three of whom died infants.

## LORD GEO. BRYDGES RODNEY, K. B.

THE father of this gentleman was Henry Rodney, Esq. of Walton upon Thames, in the county of Surrey, a naval officer, who commanded the yacht, in which the king, attended by the duke of Chandos, used to embark in going to or coming from Hanover, and who, in consequence, asked leave that his son might be called George Brydges. The royal and



noble godfathers advised Captain Rodney to educate his boy for his own profession, promising to promote him as rapidly as the merit he should display, and the regulations of the navy would permit. His mother, Mary, was the eldest daughter, and co-heir, of Sir Henry Newton, Knight, Envoy Extraordinary to Genoa, Tuscany, &c. Mr. George Rodney, the subject of the present memoirs, was their second son, and was born in the month of December, 1718. He entered the navy at a very early age; and having passed his probationary years of service with considerable reputation, embarked for the Mediterranean in the *Namur*, as one of the lieutenants to Admiral Matthews, (1742.) On the 9th of November, in the same year, he was promoted by him captain of the *Plymouth*, of sixty guns, which commission was confirmed by the Admiralty. On returning home, soon after, Captain Rodney removed into the *Sheerness*, a small frigate, and, about the middle of the year 1744, was appointed to the command of the *Ludlow Castle* of forty-four guns.

During the spring of the year 1746, Captain Rodney had the command of the *Eagle* of sixty guns, with orders to cruise on the Irish station. In the month of October he captured two stout privateers, one of them a French ship, called the *Shoreham*, which had been a frigate in our navy. In the succeeding year, 1747, he formed one of the squadron under Commodore Fox, in the *Kent*, that was sent to intercept a large fleet of French merchantmen, homeward bound from *St. Domingo*. This fleet consisted of one hundred and seventy sail, and was convoyed by Monsieur Bois De la Mothe, with four ships of war. The commodore sailed on the 10th of April, and having taken his station in the Bay of Biscay, discerned the expected fleet about four in the morning on the 20th of June. The British squadron chased the French, who were to windward, the whole day. The English ships had been two months

but, and being in consequence foul and sickly, did not gain much on the enemy, until the evening of the 21st, when, during the night, Monsieur Bois De la Mothe crowded all the sail he could set, and got clear off. The merchantmen, thus left defenceless, became an easy prey to their pursuers, who captured forty-eight sail; the rest, favoured by the thick weather, escaped. Of these prizes, six were taken by Captain Rodney, in the Eagle.

This loss, which the French experienced, was soon followed by one before noticed, still more important.

We may date Captain Rodney's confirmed estimation as an officer of superior merit, from his spirited and judicious conduct in these actions. From this time his professional reputation gradually increased, until at length it attained that eminence, the progressive developement of which we shall now endeavour to trace.

The war being terminated by the peace, the articles of which were signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 17th of October, 1748, Captain Rodney continued to be employed; and, in the month of March, 1749, was appointed to the Rainbow, a fourth rate. On the 9th of May, in the same year, he was made governor and commander-in-chief of the island of Newfoundland. It is always usual, as we are informed by Mr. Pennant in the Appendix to his Arctic Zoology, for an admiral, or some sea officer, to be governor of this valuable island: he sails from England in May, and returns by the 30th of November. A small squadron, even in times of peace, is sent for the protection of the fishery. Commodore Rodney's continuance therefore on this dreary, though important station, most probably terminated with the usual time of recall: and in the month of May, 1751, he was chosen member for the borough of Saltash.

On the 3d of February, 1753, the commodore married Miss Jane Compton, daughter of Charles Compton, Esq. and sister to Spencer, then earl of North-

hampton. The first\* memorable, though unsuccessful service, in which he was engaged after his marriage, was, forming one of the fleet which sailed on the 8th of September, 1757, under the command of Admirals Hawke and Boscawen, to attempt a descent on the the coast of France, at or near Rochefort. In this expedition Mr. Rodney commanded the *Dublin*, of seventy-four guns; and being the oldest captain in the fleet, was one of the members of the council of war. When Admiral Boscawen sailed for Louisbourg in the spring of 1758, Captain Rodney was appointed to supply the place of Captain Bentley, whose ship the *Invincible* was lost in going out by running on a shoal. During the passage to North America, the *Dublin* took the *Mount Martin*, a French East India ship, homeward bound, of great value.

Mr. Rodney, with this service, closed his duty as a post captain, and in the month of June 1759 was advanced rear-admiral of the blue.

The year 1759 was glorious to Great Britain in every point of view, nor was Rear-admiral Rodney without enjoying his share in the important successes of that period. Having been stationed for some time in the Channel, with a considerable force, to watch the ports of Normandy, he was sent to bombard Havre De Grace, from whence the enemy had planned to transport an armament for the purpose of invading this country, in flat-bottomed boats of a particular construction, called praams. These boats were about one hundred feet long, twenty-four broad, and ten deep; had one mast, with a deck, and were intended to carry two pieces of cannon. They were so constructed as to use sails, or oars, as occasion

\* In this year (1753) he was appointed to the *Kent* of seventy-four guns, a guardship at Portsmouth. In 1755, he resigned this command on being promoted to the *Prince George* of ninety guns. Previous to this, he had been returned member for the borough of Oakhampton.

might require. Some were able to carry three hundred men with their baggage; others fifty of the cavalry, with every thing complete. A great many were already built, with a considerable number on the stocks.

Rear-admiral Rodney sailed with his squadron from St. Helen's, in the morning of the 2d of June, and, with a favourable wind and moderate weather, anchored the day following in the great road of Havre. The town is fortified by four bastions, and stands upon a plain spot of ground, full of morasses, and crossed by a great number of creeks and ditches full of water. The citadel is on the east side of the town, and was built in 1628 by Cardinal Richelieu. The harbour is within the walls of the town, and can contain more than three hundred vessels at once. In the highest tides the water rises within it near twenty feet. The entrance is formed by two jetties of stone; it has a particular advantage not only over the other sea-ports of Normandy, but of the whole kingdom, as the water in it does not begin to ebb, at least sensibly, until three hours after high water; insomuch that fleets of one hundred and twenty sail have often been known to sail out of it in one tide, even with the wind against them.

Admiral Rodney having made the dispositions to put his orders into execution, the bombs proceeded to place themselves in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, that being the most proper and only place to do execution from. About seven in the morning two of the bombs were stationed, as were all the rest early next morning; and continued to bombard for fifty-two hours, without intermission, and with such success, that the town was several times in flames; and their magazine of stores for the flat-bottomed boats, burnt with great fury upwards of six hours, notwithstanding the greatest exertions used to extinguish it. "Thus," as Mr. Collins observes, "had Admiral Rodney the happiness of totally

frustrating the designs of the French court, and so completely ruined not only the preparations, but the port itself, as a naval arsenal, that it was no longer in a state to annoy Great Britain during the continuance of the war."

In the year 1760 Admiral Rodney still hovered near the mouth of the Seine, and in the month of July had an opportunity of rendering a most essential service to his country, by destroying a fleet of praams laden with warlike stores, the consequences of which were more important to the security of the nation than was at first supposed.

During the month of November in this year, the Admiral, who continued to give great annoyance to the French coast, scoured the shore as far as Dieppe with his cutters. In a letter to the Admiralty, dated the 21st of the above month, he gave an account that Captain Ourry, of the *Acteon*, had chased, on the 16th, a large French privateer of sixteen guns, and nearly two hundred men, and driven her on shore between Cape Barfleur and La Hogue. The enemy threw their guns and carriages overboard during the chase, and as it blew hard at north-east, with a great sea, the moment she struck, the masts went by the board, and the sea making a breach over her, she was entirely destroyed.

In the year 1761, towards its close, Admiral Rodney, for the first time, bore his flag to that station, where afterwards he was to render such essential service to his country, and to gain that renown which cast such additional glory on the close of a long career of service.

It had been determined by government, before the expiration of this year (1761) to attack the French commerce in the West Indies: as, although their trade to the Leeward Islands was much distressed, it still continued a resource to them. The naval and military force sent for this purpose was very great, and together formed such an armament as had never be-

fore been seen in that part of the world. General Monckton, who had acquired so much reputation in North America, commanded the land forces, and the marine was under Rear-admiral Rodney.

The failure of the expedition against Martinico, in 1759, did not discourage our administration from making that island the object of another attempt. It was the seat of the superior government, the principal mart of the French trade, and the centre of all their force in the Caribbees; the most populous and flourishing of all their settlements across the Atlantic. On the 18th of October, 1761, Rear-admiral Rodney had sailed from Spithead in the Marlborough, with four ships, three bomb-ketches, and a sloop, to join those under Sir James Douglas, who, with the troops under Lord Rollo, had taken the Island of Dominica in June.

The attack succeeded in every quarter. On the 4th of February, the citadel was delivered up to his Majesty's forces; and, on the 12th, just as General Monckton was ready to embark for the reduction of the capital of the Island, St. Pierre, deputies arrived to capitulate the surrender of that place, and of the whole island. This was soon followed by the capture of Granada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent; when the whole of the Caribbees became in possession of the English.

In 1764, Admiral Rodney was raised to the rank of baronet, by patent bearing date January 21; and during the month of November, in the ensuing year, was made governor of Greenwich Hospital. On the death of his Royal Highness the duke of York, vice-admiral of the blue, who had early shewn such a partiality for the service, and was deservedly so much esteemed by professional men, Sir George Rodney was one of the vice-admirals who supported the canopy at the funeral.

In 1768 Sir George carried on an expensive contest with Mr. Howe, for the borough of Northamp-

ton, which he gained by a poll of six hundred and eleven to five hundred and thirty-eight; by this means his fortune became much deranged. In 1771 he resigned the post of governor of Greenwich Hospital, and was soon appointed commander in chief on the Jamaica station, with his flag on board the *Amelia*, of eighty guns. "The appointment of this ship to that service," says Mr. Charnock, "was intended as a particular and pointed compliment, it being extremely unusual to send a three-decked ship on that station except in time of actual war."

On returning from his station at Jamaica, after the usual period of service had elapsed, he, on account of pecuniary embarrassments, went into exile amid a people whose government had trembled at his name.

During his absence in France, Sir George was advanced to be admiral of the white. The poverty, for so it may be denominated, under which he had now so long laboured, and which must have reduced him to many painful difficulties, could not in the smallest degree affect the firmness of his mind, or alienate his affections from his country. A very powerful temptation, the force of which he instantly baffled with patriotic ardour, is alone sufficient to shew the noble and elevated character he possessed.

The distress of this brave officer had at length so much increased, as to become a subject of public notoriety. It had been long suspected by the keen observation of Monsieur De Sartine, who was no stranger to Sir George's merit: he accordingly communicated his ideas to the Duke De Biron, and persuaded him to make the admiral an offer of the command of the French fleet in the West Indies; and also to proffer a very liberal supply for the immediate arrangement of his finances.

In order to accomplish this infamous design with the greater ease, the duke immediately sent a very civil invitation to Sir George to spend some weeks at

his house. When one morning, during a walk in the gardens, the duke with great prudence, or rather what would be termed polite delicacy, sounded the admiral on the subject : but so far was the ingenuous mind of Sir George from being able to discover what this strange preamble could lead to, that he at length imagined his grace must be deranged, and in consequence began to eye him with some degree of consideration for what might happen. The duke, who had not been accustomed to such unyielding principles, now came at once to the point, and openly declared, “ That as the King, his royal master, intended the West Indies should become the theatre of the present war, he was commissioned to make the most unbounded offers to Sir George, if he would quit the English service, and accept the command of a French squadron.” Those who remember the worthy admiral, and can recollect the countenance he would assume when any thing unexpectedly broke upon him, may imagine his aspect and demeanour : at length, with great temper, though with considerable emotion, he made this memorable reply :—“ My distresses, Sir, it is true, have driven me from the bosom of my country, but no temptation whatever can estrange me from her service. Had this offer, been a voluntary one of your own, I should have deemed it an insult ; but I am glad to learn it proceeds from a source that *can do no wrong!*”—The duke was struck with the patriotic virtue of the British tar, and from that time became his sincere friend.

Before Sir George’s arrival in England the French war had commenced. Towards the close of 1779, the chief command at the Leeward Islands was given him ; upon which he hoisted his flag on board the *Sandwich*. The succeeding year (1780) was a glorious one for this distinguished officer : and “ though,” as was well remarked by an anonymous writer, “ faction lifted up its voice for a season, not a leaf of



his laurels lost their verdure, and his name will be enrolled with the first of those men who have fought, and conquered, for their country."

On the 25th of December 1779, the Admiral sailed from Spithead in the Sandwich of ninety guns. He was attended by Rear-admiral Digby in the Prince George of ninety-eight guns, and by Rear-admiral Sir John L. Ross, in the Royal George of one hundred guns. His Royal Highness the duke of Clarence, then Prince William Henry, accompanied him on board the Prince George, as a midshipman. The whole fleet consisted of twenty-two ships of the line, eight frigates, and a cutter: having under their convoy a considerable number of store ships for Gibraltar, and the trade for the Mediterranean and the West Indies. The garrison of Gibraltar had been blockaded, both by sea and land, from the very first commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and Spain. Of the subsequent events we have already given an ample account.

In the debate which took place on the 29th in the House of Commons, on the motion of thanks to Sir George Rodney, we see the opinion which men of eminence entertained of this admiral's professional character. Lord North declared, that the nation at large was indebted to Sir George Rodney, and that the public suffrages were all in his favour: he wished, therefore, to collect them, and to have them transmitted to that gallant officer, in the form of a vote of thanks from that house. Sir George's services, his lordship said, were singular and important; for he had taken a convoy of stores, the loss of which would be very sensibly felt by the Spaniards, as they stood in the greatest need of them to fit out their fleets. In the late action his victory had produced the most salutary effects: it had freed from danger the important fortress of Gibraltar, and, together with the first success, it had taken from the enemy some of their best ships, and had added five to our own fleet.

There were circumstances attending the last action which made the merit of it highly honourable to the admiral—the night, an high wind, and the vicinity of a dangerous shore. With these difficulties he had combated, and they had served to enhance the honour of the victory. His lordship concluded with the following motion: “ That the thanks of this house be given to Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart. for the signal services he has lately rendered to his king and country, and that the speaker do transmit the same to him.”

Lord Howe agreed that the conduct of Sir George Rodney had been meritorious, and that the success, which attended his operations, had been perfect. The superiority of his fleet did not, in his opinion, by any means detract from the glory of his victory; for such was the situation of the ships, and such the attendant circumstances of the action, that it required uncommon powers to bring it to so happy a conclusion.

Admiral Keppel, who was not that day in the house, afterwards lamented that he had not been present when Lord North moved for the thanks of the house to his old friend Sir George Rodney; and declared he should have felt a singular satisfaction in seconding it. The admiral's situation had been attended with difficulties, which he had gallantly surmounted, and had performed his duty like a seaman.

The thanks of the House of Lords to Sir George being on the first of March moved for by Lord Sandwich, the Marquis of Rockingham arose and said, that it gave him sincere pleasure to have so public an opportunity of expressing his hearty concurrence with the noble lord in the motion he had introduced. He had long known Sir George Rodney, and had the greatest esteem for him. He deserved every thing from his country. On the 6th of March the freedom of the city of London was voted to Sir George, to be presented in a gold box, worth one hundred guineas;

The freedom of the city of Edinburgh had been previously voted.

Having sent home part of his fleet, with the prizes, under the command of Admiral Digby, Sir George proceeded to his appointment on the Leeward Island station. In the month of March he arrived in the West Indies; his squadron, at this time, amounted in the whole to twenty ships of the line, and one fifty gun ship, besides frigates. On the 27th he repaired to St. Lucia, and found the enemy's fleet, consisting of twenty-three ships of the line, had retired into Fort Royal Bay, Martinico, after making an unmeaning parade.

On the 13th of April, the French fleet under the command of the Count De Guichen, consisting of twenty-three ships of the line, eight frigates, and some small vessels, in the middle of the night escaped from Fort Royal. On the following day their flight was discovered; and on Saturday the 14th, Admiral Rodney, in the Sandwich, sailed from Gros Islet Bay, St. Lucia. On the 17th, at eleven in the forenoon, he made the disposition to attack the enemy. Finding them keep from the wind, with a press of sail, that obliged their worst going ships to set all their plain sails, Sir George made the signal, that he intended to attack their rear; which was consequently followed by a signal to bear down and come to close engagement. Many masterly manœuvres were also made by him, to supply by skill his deficiency in point of numbers: the manner in which the fleet was at length brought to action, did him infinite credit.

Some of the English ships, from causes which now it is of little use to attempt investigating, did not properly obey the signals. Sir George himself set a most animating example, and at once bore down on the French admiral. The Montague and Intrepid, who were astern of the Sandwich, particularly did their duty; and the effort made by the Ajax, Ter-

rible, Princess Royal, Grafton, and Trident, put the enemy's van in disorder, and, obliging them to break the line, they took a new position.

Sir George, having himself thus set the example for close action, obliged De Guichen to bear up out of the line: this consequently brought the French admiral's seconds ahead and astern of him to windward, who bore down to protect the flag. Had Admiral Rodney been as well supported, De Guichen would inevitably have been taken. For more than an hour did the Sandwich sustain the unequal attack. At length, on the Princess Royal bearing down to her assistance, the French ships drew off, leaving her a perfect wreck, so that for twenty-four hours she could with difficulty be kept above water: and yet from this state, by the activity of her officers and crew, in another twenty-four hours she was again ready for action. The masts, yards, and rigging, were totally cut to pieces. Her hull received seventy shots, seventeen of which were between wind and water. The Sandwich, during the engagement, fired not less than three thousand five hundred balls.

Sir George, in his letter to the Admiralty, thus mentions the situation of his ship during the action: "The action in the centre, continued until fifteen minutes after four P.M. when Monsieur Guichen, in the Couronne, which had mounted ninety guns, with the Triumphant and Pendant, after engaging the Sandwich for an hour and an half, bore away. The superiority of the fire from the Sandwich, and the gallant behaviour of her officers and men, enabled her to sustain so unequal a combat; though, before this attack, she had beat three ships out of their line of battle, had entirely broke it, and was to leeward of the wake of the French admiral."

As the debates in the House of Lords, on Admiral Rodney's letter, relating to the above action, were particularly violent, it will be necessary in this place to refer to the heads of what passed.

On the third of June, Lord St. John moved for a copy of the late dispatches from Admiral Sir George Rodney; such parts only excepted as related to the future operations of the fleet, and which, being known, might be serviceable to the enemy.

Lord Sandwich objected to the motion, Sir George, he declared, had indeed said in general terms, that he had not been well supported, but that he would enquire into the cause. "Private information has indeed been received, but I wish heartily," said his lordship, "that the whole may turn out to be an ill-founded suspicion. I do not like to expatiate on the actions of an officer, who fell in the late engagement (Captain St. John), because I fear to awaken the feelings of the noble lord, his relation, who made the present motion. But thus much I am bound to say, that he fell in a manner that will stamp immortal honour on his name." Lord Sandwich then added, that he had sent the necessary orders to Sir George Rodney, to proceed against those who might be deemed criminal, and to bring them to justice.

Lord Shelburne insisted that private letters sent to ministers, as ministers, were, in fact, as much for the public eye as the public dispatches were. That Lord Chatham always laid up in the Secretary's office all letters, public and private. "Great as have been the gallantry and success of Sir George Rodney, yet," exclaimed his lordship, "I have heard it was already in contemplation to remove him from his command, in order to bring in a favourite, yet disgraced admiral! but I will sit down to give the noble lord at the head of the Admiralty an opportunity to contradict this."—Lord Sandwich remaining silent, he proceeded:—"If my information, my lords, is true, the Count De Guichen left Guadaloupe on the 26th, nearly at the same time that the grand Cadiz squadron sailed. Now, Cadiz being so much nearer than England is to the West Indies, a junction, my lords, may be formed between the French and Spaniards,

before it can be even in our power to sail in order to prevent it. As we must have frigates to watch the Cadiz fleet, they cannot quit it, until they are perfectly satisfied of the course it intends to steer. If it once get into the trade winds, then it is wafted with expedition, while our frigates on their return may have to sail against the wind : so that upon the whole, my lords, at a moderate computation, a month must elapse before we could send a fleet after the Spaniards ; a period more than sufficient for the destruction of Sir George Rodney. The Havannah might be appointed as a rendezvous : the French might perhaps refit there, and united with the Spaniards, fall on Sir George, who, keeping the sea, without an opportunity to refit, would, he feared, fall an easy prey to so powerful a combination."

Lord Sandwich rose with much warmth :—" If I did not make any reply when the noble lord afforded me an opportunity, by sitting down in the midst of his speech, it was because I will not obey the will of that lord, nor answer any question from him, but at the time that I shall myself think proper. From the first moment that I was initiated into politics, I have always been taught, that responsibility was annexed only to public letters. I am therefore not to be told by the noble lord that I am broaching new doctrines, when I am in reality professing only those which are as old as the office of Secretary of State.

" The noble lord says, he has heard that Sir George Brydges Rodney was to be removed. Will he so far favour me as to name his author ? But, before he does this, I will take upon me to say, that his information is false. Whoever could advise his Majesty to remove so able a man, cannot be a friend to his country. I have lately written to the admiral, and though I am not in the habit of writing panegyrics, my letter to this gallant officer was one continued panegyric from beginning to end. When it was first proposed in council to employ Sir George, I," said Lord Sand-

wich, “ who knew him from a very young man, declared, *Rodney once afloat will do his duty*. How then can any man for a moment think of removing him from his command, after the repeated proofs he has given, that he is so well qualified to hold it.”

On the 14th of November, 1780, his Majesty conferred a special mark of his approbation on Sir George Rodney, by nominating him a supernumerary knight companion of the Bath, there being at that time no vacant stall.

Early in the year 1781, Rear-admiral Sir S. Hood arrived in the West Indies, with the expected reinforcement, consisting of seven ships of the line. He also brought intelligence of the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and Holland; and instructions for the immediate attack of the Dutch settlements in the West Indies. These were executed with the same promptitude with which they had been conceived; and the whole island of St. Eustatius, with a number of merchant ships richly laden, one frigate, and other vessels, were taken instant possession of; and the admiral having learnt that a valuable fleet of Dutch merchant ships for Europe had sailed from St. Eustatius only the day before, under the protection of a Dutch fifty-four gun ship with a commodore on board, he therefore detached the *Monarch* of seventy-four guns, *Pantheon* of sixty guns, and *Sibyl* of twenty-eight guns, in pursuit of them; by which means the whole convoy were captured, and brought back to St. Eustatius. On the *Monarch* coming up with the Dutch man of war, Captain Reynolds desired them to surrender, which being refused by the commodore, an action commenced, which lasted but for a few minutes, when the Dutch commodore being killed, the ship surrendered. This success was attended with the capture of the islands of St. Martin and Saba, and the two Dutch colonies of Demerary and Issequibo on the Spanish main.

On Sir George Rodney's subsequent conduct in

confiscating the property found on the island of St. Eustatius, we shall not here enter very minutely. But the character of the admiral requires that he should be heard for himself. The island, as Sir George declares in his letter to Philip Stephens, Esq. of the 6th of March 1781, had long been an asylum for men guilty of every crime, and a receptacle for the outcast of every nation.

“ I think it my duty,” adds this zealous officer, “ to lay before their lordships the resolution General Vaughan and myself have taken relative to the securing this important conquest to Great Britain, and *that she might avail herself of all its riches, as an atonement for the injuries it has done her.*”

“ We thought that this nest of smugglers, adventurers, betrayers of their country, and rebels to their King, had no right to expect a capitulation, or to be treated as a respectable people: their atrocious crimes deserve none; and they ought to have known that the just vengeance of an injured empire, though slow, is sure. An agent, and many French merchants, resided in this island; and, that no national reflection may be cast, with justice, upon the honour of Great Britain, though the French magazines of provisions and stores have been seized, their persons have been treated with respect; and they will be allowed to carry with them in cartel vessels to Guadaloupe, and Martinique, all their household furniture, plate, linen, &c. &c. and their numerous household slaves. The Dutch Amsterdam merchants will likewise be allowed proper cartel ships to carry them and their families, with their household furniture. The guilty American merchants, and the equally guilty Bermudian, and British, though obliged to retire, will be permitted to take with them their household goods and personal effects.”

To this we shall add the following letter, from both the admiral and general:



## TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.

“ MY LORD,

“ *Barbadoes, 26th June 1781.*

“ We have been honoured with your lordship’s letter of the 30th of March, communicating to us the King’s Royal\* approbation of our conduct, in the capture of St. Eustatius, St. Martin’s, and Saba, and acquainting us of his Majesty’s most generous gift of the property of the enemy captured in these islands, to his army and navy.

“ So great and royal a bounty was far beyond our most sanguine expectations.

“ We had no views whatever but doing our duty, and executing his Majesty’s commands, concluding the whole was the property of the crown; and without one selfish view, thought it a duty incumbent on us, to seize, for his Majesty’s use, all the effects of an island inhabited by rebellious Americans, and their agents, disaffected British factors, who from base and lucrative motives were the great support of the American rebellion; traitors to their King, and Patricides to their country. These, mixed with Jews and Dutch, who regardless of the treaties subsisting between Great Britain and Holland, had traitorously conspired, and for years supported the public enemies of the state, and the rebellion of our deluded colonies; and but for such support and encouragement, the unhappy differences with that country had long since subsided.

“ Such, my lord, were the inhabitants of St. Eustatius, loaded with the accumulation of every crime that was possible for subjects to commit towards the ruin of their country.

“ Judge then, my lord, what we must feel in being threatened with innumerable prosecutions for do-

\* In the month of May his Majesty settled an annuity of 2000*l.* *per annum* on Sir George; 500*l.* on Lady Rodney; 1000*l.* on his eldest son; and 100*l.* on each of the younger children.

ing our duty ; and that men guilty of such atrocious crimes should meet support from any individual in a British Parliament !

“ We should scorn to take the effects of any honest or just man ; and if there be any such who are inhabitants of St. Eustatius, although the laws of war might make it lawful prize, yet God forbid we should distress the innocent.

“ We thought it a duty incumbent upon us to act as we have done ; and that men who had been contending for the ruin of their country, should in return be exposed to its just resentment.

“ This being our situation, and regardless of the threats of such British merchants, who by their support and credit have contributed to this infamous commerce, so detrimental to the state, and for which we are told numerous actions are already commenced against us ; yet we have not a doubt but that his Majesty, from his known justice and magnanimity, will give his royal commands that we meet with that support from administration, that officers serving their country, and executing his royal orders, flatter themselves they will receive.

“ We have the honour to be,

“ with the highest respect,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s most faithful obedient Servants,

“ G. B. RODNEY.

“ JOHN VAUGHAN.”

Sir George Rodney concluded his distinguished services with a most brilliant and decisive victory over the fleet of his enemy, commanded by the Count De Grasse, who was himself captured with the *Ville de Paris*, and four other ships of the fleet, besides one sunk in the action.

Admiral Rodney particularly mentioned the noble behaviour of his second in command, Sir Samuel Hood ; he also declared, that his third in command,

Rear-admiral Drake, deserved the highest praise, as did Commodore Affleck for his gallant behaviour in leading the centre division: his own captain, Sir Charles Douglas, was also noticed for his unremitting diligence and activity. He declared, that he wanted words to express his sense of the meritorious conduct of all his captains, officers, and men, who had a share in this glorious victory, obtained by their gallant exertions.

Thus closed the professional career of this distinguished officer, who, on June 19th 1782, after receiving the thanks of both houses, had been advanced to the rank of a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Rodney, of Rodney Stoke, in the county of Somerset; and, on the 1st of July following, had been voted a pension of 2000*l. per annum*, to descend to his heirs. These rewards his long services and merit certainly claimed; nor was his country slow in proffering them.

One who knew him well has declared, "That as an officer of nautical abilities, none were his superiors, and but few his equals." He possessed a bold original genius, which always carried him directly to the object he had in view. As a man, he was benevolent, generous, and friendly. "I knew him," says a correspondent, "from my infancy, and he ever treated me as his son. I have seen him write private letters, and dictate to three secretaries, at the same time. He was an officer of great professional abilities, and deserved success. Few men possessed more humanity, or knew their dignified situation better than Lord Rodney." In private life he displayed the manners of an accomplished gentleman; and he, who when called by his country, could hurl its thunders against the foe, and lead its navies unto victory, was, in peace, the ornament of domestic society, and a pattern of that elegant and polished behaviour which distinguishes the higher orders among us.

Lord Rodney died in London on the 24th of May,

1792. At Spanish town, Jamaica, a temple was built to receive his statue, which was executed by Mr. Bacon:

PHILIP AFFLECK, ESQ.

ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE SQUADRON;

AND

SIR EDMUND AFFLECK, BART.

REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE RED SQUADRON.

THE Affleck family, whose name is modernized from that of Auchinleck, is of Scotch extraction: and the gentlemen, whose services we are about briefly to notice, belonged to a branch which had long been settled in the county of Suffolk. Phillip Affleck, Esq. was the younger brother of the late Admiral Sir Edmund Affleck, Bart. and the uncle of Sir Gilbert, the present representative of the family.

Mr. Philip Affleck was born about the year 1725. He was originally in the service of the East India Company; but afterwards entered into the royal navy, and obtained a lieutenant's commission on the 2d of May, 1755. He served in this rank, either on board the Hunter sloop, or the *Ætna* bomb ketch, at the siege of Louisbourg, and so particularly distinguished himself at the time that the *Prudente* and *Bienfaisant* were boarded by the boats of the squadron, that he was promoted, by Admiral Boscawen, to the rank of master and commander.

In Admiral Boscawen's action with the French squadron, under the command of M. De la Clue, in the Mediterranean, on the 18th of August, 1759, Mr. Affleck commanded the *Grammont*, of fourteen guns: and soon after the engagement, the admiral made him post, in the *Namur*, of ninety guns, by commission bearing date August 28, 1759.

Captain Affleck was soon afterwards removed into the Panther, of sixty guns, and ordered to the East Indies, where he continued till nearly the close of the war. In the winter of 1760, he was some time employed in the blockade of Pondicherry, under the Rear admirals Stevens and Cornish. The Panther was one of the ships which, in the hurricane of the 1st of January, 1761, cut away their masts, and rode out the storm.

Captain Affleck returned to England in the Argo, of twenty guns: from which period, till 1779, when he was appointed to the Triumph, of seventy-four guns, he does not appear to have holden any command. In that year he was employed in the Channel Fleet, under Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, and was present when it fell in with the French and Spanish fleets, on the 31st of August, after they had had the temerity to appear before Plymouth.

Early in 1780, Captain Affleck was ordered to the West Indies, to reinforce Sir George Rodney: but it was not till the 10th of May, upwards of three weeks after the first encounter, which had taken place with the French admiral, De Guichen, that he reached his destination. He was present, however, in the second action, on the 15th of May; and, in the third, on the 19th of the same month, he was very warmly engaged: his ship, the Triumph, having four men killed, and fourteen wounded.

During the early part of the ensuing year, Captain Affleck served on the same station; but as he continued with the commander in-chief, at St Eustatius, when Sir Samuel Hood put to sea, for the purpose of attacking the Count De Grasse, on his passage to the West Indies, he was not concerned in the encounter which took place with the enemy, off Martinique, on the 29th of April.

From about this period he was out of commission till towards the end of 1782, when he was re-appointed to the Triumph, which was then refitted; but, in

consequence of the cessation of hostilities, she was employed only as a guard ship, at Portsmouth. Captain Affleck held this command during two years; after which he was not again employed as a private captain.

On the 24th of September, 1787, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue squadron; and in 1790, he was appointed commander-in-chief, on the Jamaica station, where he hoisted his flag on board the *Centurion*, of fifty guns. On the 21st of September, in the same year, he was made rear-admiral of the white; and on the 1st of February, 1793, vice-admiral of the blue squadron. In 1792, he was succeeded in his West India command by Commodore Ford. On the 26th of April, 1793, he had the honour of being appointed one of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty. Towards the close of the same year, he was also elected vice-president of the marine Society. On the 11th of April, 1794, he was made vice-admiral of the white; on the 4th of July following, vice-admiral of the red: on the 1st of June 1795, admiral of the blue; and on the 14th of February, 1799, admiral of the white squadron.

Admiral Affleck retired from his seat at the Admiralty board, in 1796; after which he never appeared in any official station.

Universally respected as an officer, as a gentleman, and as a christian, he died at Bath, on the 22d of December, 1799.

MR. EDMUND AFFLECK, who was advanced to the dignity of a baronet, in the year 1782, was the elder brother of the admiral, of whose professional services we have just been treating. He entered into the navy when very young, and obtained a lieutenant's commission on the 2d of July, 1745. Very little is known respecting his early services. He is said to have been promoted, in the year 1755, by Commo-

dore Frankland, then commander-in-chief on the Leeward Island station, to command the *Advice*, of fifty guns; but if so, his commission was not confirmed by the Admiralty board, as he dated his post rank only from the 23d of March, 1757, when he was appointed to the *Mercury*, of 24 guns. After remaining a short time in this ship, he is believed to have been out of commission, till the year 1759, when he was appointed to the *Launceston*, a fifth rate, of forty guns, in which he continued during the remainder of the war, employed in a variety of routine service, but without meeting with any favourable opportunity for distinguishing himself. After the war, about the year 1766, he was appointed to the *Argo*, of twenty-eight guns, the same frigate we believe, which his brother subsequently, for a short time, commanded. In the *Argo*, he proceeded to Lisbon; but not retaining the command of that frigate more than one or two years, he was not again employed till 1770, when he was appointed to the *St. Anthonio*, of sixty guns, a guard ship, at Portsmouth, as successor to Captain Gayton, who had just then been promoted to a flag. He continued in this ship only till the autumn of 1771, when she was put out of commission, as unfit for further service.

In 1775, Captain Affleck was appointed to the *Medway*, of sixty guns, bearing the flag of vice-admiral Mann, who was then sent out as commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. He remained with that officer till his return, in 1778; and immediately on his arrival in England, he was appointed to the *Bedford*, of seventy-four guns, one of Admiral Byron's squadron, then under orders for America. This squadron sailed from Spithead, in quest of M. D'Estaing, on the 5th of June; but unfortunately on the 3d of the following month, it was dispersed in a heavy gale of wind from the north. However, Captain Bedford's ship, and five others, having had the good fortune to keep together, reached Sandy Hook in

safety, on the 28th of August, under the command of Rear-admiral Parker. The month of October arrived, before Admiral Byron had collected his fleet. At length he put to sea from New York, and proceeded to cruise off Boston, to block up D'Estaing's squadron, which had taken shelter in that port. Still pursued by adverse fortune, he had not long reached that station, before a violent storm drove him off the coast, dispersed his fleet, and obliged many of the ships to put into Rhode Island, in a very shattered condition. D'Estaing, not suffering so favourable an opportunity to escape, slipped out of Boston, and steered for the West Indies. Byron prepared to follow him: but the Bedford had received so much damage in the storm, that it was found expedient to send her home; and she accordingly arrived at Spithead on the 25th of January, 1779, in company with the Amazon frigate. Captain Affleck afterwards served in the Channel fleet, under the orders of Sir Charles Hardy: and in the month of December, his ship sailed with the armament, under Sir George Rodney, to the relief of Gibraltar. On his passage thither, on the 16th of January, 1780, he had the pleasure of first descriing the Spanish squadron, commanded by Don Juan De Langara; and in the encounter which ensued, he had the still higher satisfaction of bearing a distinguished part.

The object of the expedition having being accomplished, Captain Affleck returned to England, and was shortly afterwards ordered to America, with the squadron under Admiral Graves, which had been sent thither for the purpose of counteracting the efforts of the Chevalier De Ternay. In a violent gale of wind which arose on the 23d of January, 1781, while off the east end of Long Island, the Bedford was unfortunately dismasted. At the same time the Culloden, Captain Balfour, was driven ashore and totally lost; but her masts were saved: and having been fitted to the Bedford, the latter ship was, by



very great exertion, repaired by the 1st of March, when the whole squadron immediately put to sea.

On the 16th of the same month, a partial engagement took place with De Ternay's squadron, about fourteen leagues from Cape Henry: but the Bedford, and indeed the whole rear of the British squadron, were prevented from getting into action, by the enemy's line having been broken before it became general.

On the 20th of May following, Captain Affleck hoisted a broad pendant, as commodore, in the Bedford: but, on being appointed to the port department, at New York, he almost immediately shifted it into a frigate. He continued thus occupied, till the return of Admiral Graves into port, after his engagement with the Count De Grasse, off the Chesapeake, on the 5th of September, when an attempt to relieve Earl Cornwallis, at York Town, having been determined on, he re-hoisted his broad pendant on board the Bedford, and was appointed to lead the fleet on the larboard tack. The garrison, however, had been compelled to surrender, previously to the arrival of the British armament; in consequence of which, the fleet returned to Sandy Hook, where it arrived on the 29th of October.

On the 12th of November, Commodore Affleck, who still continued in the Bedford, sailed for the West Indies; with Sir Samuel Hood and the greater part of the combined naval force of the North American and West Indian stations, in quest of the Count De Grasse, who had proceeded thither with a very formidable fleet.

On his arrival at Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, on the 5th of December, Commodore Affleck was entrusted with the command of a squadron or division, consisting of seven ships of the line; and in the encounter with the enemy's fleet, on the 25th and 26th of January, 1782, in Basse Terre Road, St. Christopher's, he so highly distinguished himself, as to call forth the

following encomium from Sir Samuel Hood, in his official dispatches :

“The enemy gave a preference to Commodore Affleck, but he kept up so noble a fire, and was so well supported by his seconds, Captain Cornwallis, and Lord Robert Manners, that the loss and damage sustained in those ships were very trifling ; and they very much preserved the other ships in the rear.”

Commodore Affleck had also the good fortune of bearing a very conspicuous part in the memorable conflicts with De Grasse, on the 9th and 12th of April. Lord Rodney, in his official letter, says ; “nor can less praise be given to Commodore Affleck, for his gallant behaviour in leading the centre division.”

It was for his gallant exertions on this occasion, that Commodore Affleck was advanced to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain. He also had the satisfaction of receiving, in concert with the flag officers, the well merited thanks of both houses of parliament.

Sir Edmund remained with Lord Rodney, till the return of that officer to England, in July : and on the approach of the hurricane months, he sailed for America, with Admiral Pigot. While on that station, he was detached with a strong squadron of ten or twelve ships of the line, under the orders of Lord Hood, with a view of intercepting on its return, a part of the French fleet which had repaired to the West Indies, under the command of M. Vaudreuil ; but by the caution and good fortune of the enemy, this plan was frustrated ; and Admiral Pigot having returned to the West Indies, Sir Edmund Affleck, with Lord Hood, rejoined him on that station.

In consequence of the peace which almost immediately ensued, the commodore returned to England early in the summer of 1783, and struck his pendant. On the 10th of February, 1784, he was promoted singly to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue squad-

ron; and on the 24th of September, 1787, he was made rear-admiral of the red, but never hoisted his flag.

In the year 1782, shortly after the intelligence of the defeat of De Grasse had reached England, Sir Edmund Affleck was chosen representative in parliament, as successor to Mr Christopher Potter, for the borough of Colchester: for which place he continued member, till his decease, on the 15th of December, 1787.

## SIR EDWARD HUGHES, K. B.

ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE SQUADRON.

THE subject of the present memoir, was the son of a respectable gentleman, of good family, and independent fortune, in the county of Herefordshire. Of the city of Hereford, his father was many years an alderman, and once, if not oftener, mayor. Our hero was intended for the sea service, and entered early into the navy. On the 25th of August, 1740, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, by Admiral Vernon, as a reward for the merit which he had displayed at the capture of Porto Bello. From this time, we have no account of him till the year 1747, at which period he continued a lieutenant, and went out a passenger to Louisbourg in the Warwick, with strong recommendations to Commodore Knowles, who then commanded on that station. As on this passage an event occurred, which afterwards occasioned no small controversy, in which Mr. Hughes bore a share, we shall relate the particulars of it at large.

The Lark, of forty guns, commanded by Captain Crookshanks, and the Warwick, of sixty guns, commanded by Captain Erskine, were ordered to proceed with a convoy to Louisbourg. No material occurrence took place till the 14th of July, when being in

latitude 40 degrees 38 minutes, longitude 21 degrees 22 minutes ; Captain Crookshanks, the senior officer, about seven in the morning, discovered a sail to the westward, which he made to be a ship of force, and gave chase to. There being little wind, the chase was continued during the whole day with indifferent success ; and by four o'clock in the morning of the 15th, Captain Crookshanks was near enough to ascertain that his antagonist was a large Spanish ship of war, mounting seventy-four guns. This discovery far from intimidating the pursuers, encouraged them to continue the chase, though, by so doing, they deviated from the course of their voyage. About eleven at night the Lark being abreast of the enemy, and about three hundred and fifty yards from her, began to fire : almost at the same instant, the Warwick, which till then had kept in the wake of the Lark, tacked and stood to the northward. The consequence of this manœuvre was, that the Lark and Warwick becoming separated, the Spaniard seized the opportunity of attacking the latter, and totally disabled her before the Lark could come to her assistance.

On the arrival of the Lark and Warwick at Louisbourg, Commodore Knowles directed a court martial to be held on Captain Crookshanks, who was accordingly tried, and sentenced to be dismissed the service.

The commander of the Lark being thus dismissed, Mr. Hughes was appointed by Commodore Knowles, to the command of that ship, his commission bearing date February the 6th, 1747-8. This appointment was afterwards confirmed by the lords of the Admiralty, and Mr. Hughes took rank as post captain, according to that date. From this period, we meet with no further mention concerning him, till the beginning of the year 1756, when he was appointed to the command of the Deal Castle, a ship of twenty-four guns. He is said to have been sent out to the

Mediterranean, in the month of September, a passenger on board the *Ambuscade*, to take the command of the *Intrepid*, as successor to Captain Young, who was ordered home to England, as an evidence on the approaching trial of Admiral Byng. In 1757, he was captain of the *Somerset*, of seventy-four guns, in which ship he served, in 1758, under Admiral Boscawen, in the expedition against Louisbourg, and the year following, in the memorable expedition against Quebec, under Sir Charles Saunders, by whom he was particularly noticed, and whose flag he, soon after, had the honour to carry on board the *Blenheim*, which ship he commanded in the Mediterranean, a short time previously to the peace of 1763. Captain Hughes does not appear to have held any command subsequent to this, till the latter end of the year 1770, when, on account of the disagreement with Spain relative to the Falkland Islands, it was deemed expedient, by administration, to fit out a naval armament, he was again appointed to the command of the *Somerset*. He remained in this ship during the three succeeding years, and at the conclusion of that time, he was appointed to the East India station, through the interest of his friend the earl of Sandwich, with the rank of commodore. He accordingly sailed to that quarter in the *Salisbury*, of fifty guns, and after remaining there till the year 1777, he returned to Europe, being succeeded in his command by Sir Edward Vernon, having met with no occurrence during his stay in the Indian Seas, of sufficient importance to deserve to be recorded.

On the 23d of January, 1778, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and in the beginning of the ensuing year, he was again appointed to the command in chief, in the East Indies. About the same time he was honoured with the Order of the Bath. He hoisted his flag on board the *Superb*, of seventy-four guns, and proceeded for India, with the *Exeter* and *Barford*, of seventy guns.

and the *Eagle*, *Belleisle*, and *Worcester*, of sixty-four guns each, under his command. On his passage, he reduced, without difficulty, the French settlement of *Goree*, on the coast of *Africa*: and on his arrival in *India*, finding that the enemy had no naval force in that quarter capable of contending with his squadron, and judging that their services might be wanted at home, the *Belleisle*, together with the *Asia* and *Rippon*, which the rear-admiral found there under *Commodore Vernon*, were ordered to *England* with that gentleman soon afterwards.

At the time when *Sir Edward Hughes* re-assumed the command in chief of his Majesty's ships in *India*, affairs in that quarter were in a state extremely critical, owing to the war with the *Rohilla* chiefs and *Hyder Ally*, and the discontents which prevailed in *Bengal*, in consequence of the rapacity of the servants of the *East India Company*, and the little attention that had been paid to the laws, manners, and usages of the natives. The *English*, masters of a territory containing more than thirty millions of inhabitants, had to dread not only the efforts of powerful external enemies, but the struggles of discontented subjects, who beheld with anguish and indignation the wealth of their fertile country transferred to strangers, their customs violated by foreign regulations, and the institutions of their ancestors repealed, suspended, or mutilated. It has been acknowledged, whatever were the causes, that the *British* power in *India*, at this period was shaken to the centre, and scarcely was in a more dangerous situation when *Soujah al Dowlah* was in possession of the capital of *Bengal*, and the affrighted governor, with most of his officers, had fled to the shipping for security.

While affairs were in this state, the command in chief of the naval force in *India* was a charge of the highest responsibility and importance. The only occurrence, however, that we meet with, deserving of notice, in the early part of our admiral's command is,

an expedition against a flotilla belonging to Hyder Ally, the particulars of which are stated by himself, as follows, in a letter from Bombay, dated January 2, 1781.

“ On the 8th of December, being off Mangalore, the principal sea port of Hyder Ally on the Malabar coast, I saw two ships, a large snow, three ketches, and many smaller vessels, at an anchor in the road, with Hyder Ally’s colours flying on board them. Standing with the squadron close into the road, I found them to be vessels of force, and all armed for war; on which I anchored as close to the enemy’s vessels as possible, with safety to the ships, and ordered the armed boats of the squadron to attack and destroy them, under cover of the fire of the company’s two armed snows, and of the prize ship cut out of Calicut road, which were anchored in shoal water, and close to the enemy’s ships. This service was conducted on the part of our boats with a spirit and activity, that do much honour to the officers and men employed in them. In two hours they took and burnt two ships, one of twenty-eight, the other of twenty-six guns: one ketch, of twelve guns, was blown up by the enemy at the instant our boats were boarding her: another ketch of ten guns, which cut her cables, and endeavoured to put to sea, was taken; and the third ketch, with the smaller vessels, were all forced on shore, the snow only escaping into the harbour, after having thrown every thing overboard to lighten her.”

In the month of November, 1781, Sir Edward, in conjunction with Sir Hector Munro, attacked the Dutch settlement of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country. The place, though defended by a garrison of eight thousand men, of which, however, only five hundred were Europeans, surrendered after a slight resistance. The squadron lost, on this occasion, seventeen seamen killed, and twenty-seven wounded; thirteen marines killed, and twenty-nine wounded.

The capture of Negapatam struck such terror into Hyder Ally, that his troops immediately evacuated the Manjore country, and the Polygars, or petty princes, who, at the instigation of Hyder, had rebelled against the nabob of the Carnatic, and taken up arms against the English, returned to their obedience on the best terms they could make for themselves.

The admiral next undertook an expedition against Trincomale, on the island of Ceylon, which was taken by assault on the 11th of January, 1781, together with two Dutch ships, richly laden, which were in the harbour, and several small vessels. The particulars of the attack we extract from Sir Edward's official account of the capture of the place :

“ The necessary disposition was made for the attack to begin at daylight, in the morning of the 11th, and accordingly the storming party, composed of four hundred and fifty seamen and marines, and their officers, with each flank covered by a party of pioneers, and twenty seamen carrying the scaling ladders, and armed with cutlasses, with a reserve of three companies of seamen, and three companies of marines, with two field pieces to support it, followed by the company's troops, advanced at day-light towards the fort, and the serjeant's party in front getting in at the embrasures unperceived by the enemy, was immediately followed by the whole of the storming party, who soon drove the enemy from their works, and possessed themselves of the fort: and all the ships and vessels in the harbour immediately surrendered.

“ In this assault I had the misfortune to lose Lieutenant George Long, my second lieutenant, a most worthy and deserving officer, who was killed in advancing bravely to the assault at the head of his company, and also twenty non-commissioned officers, and private seamen, and marines: Lieutenant Wolseley, who commanded a company of seamen, Lieutenant Samuel Orr, of the marines, who commanded their



grenadier company, and did duty as brigade major, and forty non-commissioned officers, private seamen, and marines, were wounded. The enemy lost but few men, as they mostly threw down their arms, and their forfeited lives were spared, by that disposition to mercy which ever distinguishes Britons."

Hitherto the British fleet had continued undisturbed masters of the Indian seas ; but towards the end of the year 1781, a French squadron of considerable force, arrived from Europe, under the command of M. Du Suffrein, one of the ablest officers that the French marine has ever produced. The views of the French ministry in sending this squadron to India, were of a nature that struck at the very root of the British dominions in Asia ; the squadron was intended to co-operate with the native powers, who were at war with the English, and they carried with them a large body of troops, the more effectually to answer that end.

The first meeting of the hostile squadrons was on the 17th of February, 1782, when a severe engagement ensued, the detail of which has already been given.

Indecisive as this engagement was, its consequences were of the greatest importance to the stability of the British empire in India. The French had been for years preparing the armament at a vast expence, and had formed the most flattering prospects of its success ; its arrival in India was regarded by the enemies of the British government in that quarter, as the final period of our power on the coast of Coromandel ; upon its assistance, Hyder Ally had formed the strongest hopes of our expulsion, and the French themselves came in full confidence of a complete victory. We can scarcely regard that as a drawn battle, which was the means of disappointing these mighty expectations, and of defeating a project which threatened our political existence in India. The governor-general, and council of Bengal, in their letter of con-

gratulation to Sir Edward Hughes, on this occasion, make use of the following forcible expressions, which, when we consider their rank, and the opportunities they had of judging of the extent of the danger which threatened them, will convey a strong idea of the value of our admiral's service. "We regard," say they, "your action with the French fleet as the crisis of our fate in the Carnatic, and in the result of it we see that province relieved and preserved, and the permanency of the British power in India firmly established." In another part of their letter they say, "a proof so unequivocal of the superior courage and discipline of the officers and seamen under your command, and of their confidence in their leader, must excite in the minds of all the powers in India, a confirmed opinion of the unrivalled military character of the British nation." The governor and council of Madras addressed the admiral in terms equally flattering. "The very masterly and spirited manner," say they, "in which you bore down upon the French fleet at your departure from these roads, claimed at that time our warmest thanks: and we now most sincerely congratulate you on the new honour which the British flag has acquired, by the courage and conduct so eminently displayed by you, in the late combat against such superior numbers." To these honourable testimonies in our hero's favour, it is impossible for us to make any additions.

On the 30th of March, the admiral was joined at sea by the *Sultan* and *Magnanime* from England, both which ships were then very sickly and much reduced by the scurvy. As Sir Edward had on board the squadron a reinforcement of troops for the garrison of Trincomale, and a quantity of military stores, he judged it most advantageous for the public service, especially as he knew the enemy's squadron was to the southward, not to return to Madras to land the sick and scorbutic of the two ships, but to proceed directly for Trincomale, "without," to use his own

words, "either seeking or avoiding the enemy." On the 6th of April, the squadron fell in with a French ship, which they chased on shore and burnt near Tranquebar, but the officers and men escaped, and carried off with them dispatches for their commanders in chief by sea and land.

On the 8th, at noon, the enemy's squadron, consisting of eighteen sail was discovered in the north-east quarter; but agreeable to his previous resolution, Sir Edward continued his course. During the three following days, the enemy kept in sight, without any encounter taking place; but on the 12th at daylight, M. Suffrein having obtained the weather gage, in consequence of Sir Edward having bore away for Trincomale, and their copper-bottomed ships coming fast up with the rear of the British squadron, the admiral notwithstanding their superiority, determined to engage them. The result has been noticed before, p. 100,

On the departure of the French fleet, Sir Edward proceeded with his squadron to Trincomale, where he arrived on the 22d, and immediately landed the reinforcement and military stores destined for the garrison, and the sick and wounded. Having refitted the Monmouth, and the rest of the ships, as well as circumstances would permit, he sailed from Trincomale on the 24th of June, and the following day anchored in Negapatnam road. Here he was informed that the French squadron was at anchor off Cuddalore, which place had surrendered to their land forces. The admiral continued at anchor in Negapatnam road till the 5th of July, when at noon, the French squadron, consisting of eighteen sail, twelve of which were of the line came in sight. At three P. M. he weighed with the squadron, and stood to the southward all that evening and night, in order to get to windward of the enemy. For the particulars of the action which followed, we shall again refer to p. 104. and content ourselves in this place with transcribing a paragraph or two of Sir Edward's official account:—

“ I am extremely happy to inform their lordships, that in this engagement his Majesty's squadron under my command, gained a decided superiority over that of the enemy ; and had not the wind shifted, and thrown his Majesty's squadron out of the action, at the very time when some of the enemy's ships had broken their line, and were running away, and others of them greatly disabled, I have good reason to believe it would have ended in the capture of several of their line of battle ships. I am also happy to inform their lordships, that the officers and men of the squadron behaved to my satisfaction, and have great merit for their bravery and steady conduct, the Captains Gell, of the *Monarca*, Ranier of the *Burford*, and Watt of the *Sultan*, eminently distinguished themselves by a strict attention to my signals, and the utmost exertion of courage and conduct against the enemy.

“ I am also obliged to Colonel Fullarton, of the ninety-eighth regiment, who has been my companion in the *Superb* since I left Madras road in March last, preferring to serve with his corps on board, to living inactive on shore. The officers and men of this regiment have behaved with great regularity on board the ships of the squadron, and done their duty well on all occasions. Major Grattan, an officer late of General Meadow's staff, and a captain in the 100th regiment, has also served with great credit on board the *Superb* on this occasion, in the absence of his corps, now on the Malabar coast.

“ The death of Captain Maclellan, of the *Superb*, who was shot through the heart with a grape shot, early in the engagement, is universally regretted by all who knew him. I had experienced in him an excellent officer in every department of the service.” In this engagement seventy-seven men were killed, and two hundred and thirty-three wounded.

The British admiral finding it impossible to pursue the enemy, after the engagement, without a supply

of spars and cordage, and the ammunition of the squadron, as well as its provisions, being nearly exhausted, was obliged to proceed with his ships to Madras roads, the only place where he could obtain a supply of the necessaries which he wanted. Sir Edward arrived at Madras on the 20th of July, and immediately exerted himself, with his usual zeal, activity, and perseverance, to put the squadron in a condition for service. It was one of the characteristics of Sir Edward Hughes, that he was not only brave to an excess in action, and, at the same time, cool, considerate, and collected, but that where it was necessary, he entered into all the minutiae of the service, and afforded to every one under his command an excellent example of attention to the duties of his station, and regard to the honour of his country. The splendour of heroic achievements spreads a lustre around them, which often prevents us from bestowing a due portion of praise on the prudence, foresight, and cautious vigilance of a commander: but these are qualities not less requisite than courage, to the composition of a real hero, and these Sir Edward Hughes possessed in a conspicuous degree.

On the 20th of August, the squadron having completed its provisions, and being in a tolerable condition for service sailed from Madras road to protect Trincomale, and for the purpose of covering the arrival of a reinforcement that was expected from Europe. The admiral used all possible diligence to get to the southward, but on his arrival off Trincomale, on the 2d of September, he had the mortification to discover French colours on the forts, and a French squadron at anchor in the bay, the same which he had already engaged three times. M. Suffrein had been reinforced by the *Illustre*, a ship of seventy-four guns, the *St. Michael*, of sixty-four, and the *Elizabeth*, of fifty, a ship formerly belonging to the East India Company, and his squadron had also received a supply of necessaries by a convoy of transports

from Europe. An action took place the following day, of which the principal particulars have been given in p. 105, 106.

Thus in the course of less than twelve months, Sir Edward Hughes was four times severely engaged with a force considerably superior to his own in numbers, and commanded by an officer of as great skill and courage as any whom his nation has ever produced. Yet under these disadvantages, he maintained the honour of the British character for naval pre-eminence unsullied; and, if he gained no decisive victories, or signalized himself by no extensive defeat of the enemy, the services which he performed for his country were substantial rather than splendid, solid rather than brilliant. The severe encounters in which Sir Edward Hughes and M. Suffrein were engaged bring to our recollection the still more terrible conflicts which took place towards the latter end of the seventeenth century, between the English and Dutch fleets in the Narrow Seas. Both parties entered into combat with equal resolution, and fought with equal obstinacy. During the late war, some splendid victories were gained without much expence of human life, at least on the part of the British; the ship which suffered most severely in the glorious action of the first of June, the Brunswick, Captain John Hervey, had forty-four men killed, while Sir Edward Hughes's ship lost in the action of the 12th of April, fifty-nine men: and in the course of little more than seven months, he had on board his own ship, eighty-one men killed, and one hundred and ninety-two wounded, a loss which it would be difficult to find a parallel to in modern times.

After the last action, Sir Edward repaired with his squadron to Bombay, the season for operations on the coast of Coromandel being at an end, and here he was joined by a reinforcement from England, under Sir Richard Bickerton, consisting of the Gibraltar, of eighty guns, the Cumberland and Defence,

of seventy-four guns, the *Inflexible*, *Africa* and *Sceptre*, of sixty-four guns, and the *Bristol*, of fifty guns. The war had terminated in Europe early in the year 1783, but intelligence of that event had not reached India in the month of June, when, on the 13th, being off Cuddalore, a French settlement which was then besieged by the Company's forces under General Stuart, M. Suffrein's squadron once more appeared in sight from the southward. A variety of unimportant manœuvres took place between this time and the 20th, when the French admiral having the advantage of the weather-gage, and probably being informed of the weak state of Sir Edward's squadron, on account of the havoc made by the scurvy among the crews of the different ships, particularly of those last arrived, bore down to engage about four o'clock in the afternoon, and began the action with a heavy cannonade, which was returned with the greatest spirit by the British. It continued three hours, when the enemy hauled off, and Sir Edward collected his squadron. The loss on this occasion was less than it had been in former encounters: on board Sir Edward's ship twelve were killed, and forty-one wounded, and the total loss of the squadron was ninety-nine killed, and four hundred and thirty-seven wounded. On the 22d, the enemy were again discovered off Pondicherry, but no encounter took place, and on the 25th the admiral arrived at Madras, where he received the intelligence that peace had taken place. In consequence of this, hostilities were mutually suspended, and the British fleet returned to England, at intervals, in divisions.

After his arrival, Sir Edward never took upon him any command. He had been advanced on the 19th of March 1779, to be rear-admiral of the red, on the 26th of September, 1780, to be vice of the blue; and on the 24th of September, 1787, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the red; as he was afterwards, on the 1st of February, 1793,

to be admiral of the blue, He died at his seat at Luxborough, in Essex, on the 17th of February, 1794, full of years and honours. The worthy but unfortunate Mr. Charnock thus sums up his character :—

“As to his services they stand on record, and from their nature require not the assistance, either of panegyric or praise: we shall, therefore, content ourselves with saying, that after acquiring a most princely fortune in India, he returned to his native country, neither arrogant on account of his wealth, nor presuming on his worldly prosperity, but retained to the last moment of his life, a benevolence which proved him truly worthy of the riches he had acquired, and which he appeared ready to distribute, on proper occasions, unlike some persons who have acquired fortunes in the same quarter, and have been afterwards only distinguished for their meanness or prodigality, as though he considered himself only the almoner of others' wealth, and not the possessor of his own. It is elsewhere truly and concisely said of him, that in private life the goodness of his heart led him to acts of benevolence which, though not ostentatious in themselves, will remain recorded in the memories of many.”

## SIR JOHN LOCKHART ROSS, BART.

VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE.

SIR JOHN LOCKHART ROSS was the fifth son of Sir James Lockhart of Carstairs, and was born on the 11th of November, 1721, at Lockhart-hall in the county of Lanark. His five brothers were, William, James, George, Charles, and Thomas. Having manifested a predominant inclination for the sea-service, he was recommended, in his fourteenth year, by Lord Archibald Hamilton, to Captain Osborn,



who then commanded his Majesty's ship the Portland of fifty guns. He was accordingly entered on board that ship, on the 20th of September, 1735, and sailed soon after for Constantinople. They arrived there in the January following; and after putting into Minorca and Gibraltar, returned to England in November 1736, when, the ship being paid off, our young sailor was sent to Watt's academy, in little Tower-street, London, where he continued in a course of professional and other improvement, till June 1737; he was then recommended by Lord Hyndford to Captain Charles Knowles, and entered on board the Diamond, of forty guns, commanded by that officer, and then lying at Deptford; she soon after sailed to Spithead, from thence to the coast of Guinea, and arrived at Barbadoes in the following October. After some months stay there, and having hove his ship down in English harbour, Antigua, Captain Knowles proceeded to Jamaica in February 1738, where Mr. Lockhart was so reduced by a fever and the common disorder of the country, that his return home was considered as essential to the preservation of his life. He accordingly took his passage in a merchantman bound for Glasgow, where he arrived in the month of December, and remained at his father's house till he was perfectly recovered.

In April 1739, he was entered on board the Romney, of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Medley, who sailed in the following May for Newfoundland, and, after being some months on that station, proceeded to Leghorn, Genoa, and Cadiz. In January 1740, he returned to Spithead. Having been particularly recommended to Captain Frogmore, of the Trial sloop, Mr. Lockhart, in April following, entered on board that vessel, which sailed in May for Leith, and convoyed the regiment commanded by Colonel Douglas, to Spithead. After the sloop had been fitted out for the South Seas, as one of the squadron command-

ed by Commodore, afterwards Lord, Anson, Captain Frogmore was appointed to the *Lively*, of twenty guns, and took his young favourite sailor with him; who felt no common disappointment at an exchange of situation, which excluded him from a voyage, whose object was the circumference of the globe. After recovering from a severe fever, in January 1741, he was removed with Captain Frogmore into the *Ruby*, of fifty guns, then on the British station: but was in a short time, fitted out at Portsmouth for the coast of Guinea, which she afterwards left for the island of Barbadoes, where she arrived in January 1742. Here Mr. Lockhart was very violently attacked with a disorder, and that life was for some time in great danger, which afterwards produced so much honour to the naval character of his country. The *Ruby* arrived in England in July, when she was paid off, and her officers and men turned over into the *Northumberland*, of seventy guns, commanded by Captain Watson.

In February, 1743, Mr. Lockhart, was advanced to the rank of lieutenant, and immediately appointed to the command of the *Deptford's* prize of twelve guns, then at Plymouth: within a few months he was removed into the *Dover*, of forty guns, commanded by Captain Rogers; and in January 1744, coming from Plymouth to the Downs, was very providentially saved from being dashed to pieces in Fresh-water Bay in the Isle of Wight. After fitting out at Sheerness, the *Dover* sailed in May with a convoy for *Elsineur*, and returned in September. Captain Rogers being removed into the *Pembroke*, Captain Collins succeeded him in the command of the *Dover*: and soon after took a French privateer of fourteen guns, off the *Humber*, which Lieutenant Lockhart was appointed to conduct up to *Deptford*. In October the *Dover* was again ordered with a convoy to *Elsineur*, when a hard gale of wind, and thick weather coming on in the *Cattegatt*, she lost her

rudder, and was most providentially saved, with all her equipage, by the wind's suddenly moderating, and shifting eight points; Captain Collings then proceeded to Copenhagen, where the ship was hove down, a new rudder fitted to her, and being got into the inner road, was frozen up in the ice, which breaking suddenly, she was forced on shore, but soon got off without any other damage than a shattered rudder; that loss being soon supplied, she sailed for Copenhagen with a convoy on the 1st of May 1745, and on the 2d of June arrived off the Humber.

The same ship was fitted out again at Sheerness, and in September sailed with a convoy for Lisbon and Gibraltar. She left the latter place about the middle of October to convoy transports with two regiments on board for Cape Breton; but was compelled by hard gales of wind, to put into Virginia on the 20th of January 1746. On the 10th of April she renewed her voyage with the transports, and arrived at Louisbourg by the end of the month.

Here Lieutenant Lockhart's professional merit was again rewarded by an appointment to be third lieutenant of the *Chester* with Admiral Warren, who sailed in June for Boston, and from thence to Annapolis Royal, where he remained till September, and then returned to Boston. He, in November, set sail for England, and arrived at Spithead on the 1st of the following month. The same ship being fitted for sea on February 1747, she sailed for the Downs, where a party of the ship's company, among whom was Lieutenant Lockhart, in going ashore, narrowly escaped being drowned, the boat being upset on the beach.

On the return of the *Chester* to Spithead, he was advanced to be second lieutenant of the *Devonshire*, of sixty-four guns, having Admiral Warren's flag on board. In a short time after, being in company with sixteen sail of the line commanded by Admiral Lord Anson, on the 15th of May they fell in with the French fleet and convoy; the *Devonshire* engaged

the French admiral the Serieux, of sixty-four, and the Invincible of seventy-four guns until they struck: four other ships of sixty, and one of fifty guns were taken, with twenty sail of merchant ships, with which the British fleet proudly returned to Spithead; and, having refitted in a few days, sailed again under the command of Sir Peter Warren, accompanied by six sail of Dutch men of war, under Admiral Serwer. They returned to Spithead in September, and Admiral Warren sent Rear-admiral Hawke to the westward with part of the fleet.

Sir Peter Warren now hoisted his flag on board the Invincible of seventy-four guns, and removed all his officers, and consequently Lieutenant Lockhart with most of the petty officers and seamen of his former ship, into her. He sailed soon after, but a westerly wind drove the fleet back to St. Helen's where the admiral found himself so debilitated by sickness, that he procured leave to go on shore, and to send out the English fleet under the command of Captain Mostyn, to join Admiral Hawke.

At this period, Captain Pettigrew, who commanded the Vulcan fire-ship, having obtained leave of absence, on account of the ill state of his health, Sir Peter Warren ordered Lieutenant Lockhart to take the command of her, and he accordingly went out in that capacity with the squadron under Captain Mostyn; they joined Admiral Hawke on the 1st of October, who now commanded a fleet of sixteen sail of the line; Captain Mostyn having sprung his bowsprit was sent away to Lisbon.

On the 16th at day-light, Cape Finisterre bearing south-south-west, forty leagues, a large fleet of ships were seen ahead. At eight A. M. it appeared to consist of eight sail of the line, and three hundred sail of merchantmen: the admiral now made the signal for the line of battle, and soon after for a general chase: and at ten, the British ships being within gun-shot of the enemy, he threw out a signal to

engage: the result was, that the French lost six ships of the line; but night coming on, *Le Tonnant* having the French admiral on board, was towed off in a very disabled state by *L'Intrepide*, they both being engaged by some of the English ships, when the night separated them. Lieutenant Lockhart, seeing these two ships the next morning, from the main top of the *Eagle*, Captain Rodney, which was the leewardmost ship, repaired on board the admiral to inform him of the discovery, when he was appointed to take the temporary command of the *Kent* man of war, on board of which he returned with the fleet to Spithead on the 28th of October.

When Lieutenant Lockhart had brought the *Kent* to Spithead, he returned to be first lieutenant of the *Invincible*, with Admiral Sir Peter Warren, who, in April 1748, sailed to the westward with seventeen ships of the line; he cruised as far as Teneriffe, and having watered and taken in wine at Madeira, returned to Spithead. In a short time after, the career of our naval glory was closed for some time, by the conclusion of a peace with France and Spain.

The *Invincible* was paid off in November, when she was commissioned again as a guard ship in January, and Lieutenant Lockhart retained his situation on board her: she being still considered as Admiral Sir Peter Warren's ship.

In April 1752, she sailed for Gibraltar, in company with the *Tiger*, Commodore Stephens, each ship carrying a regiment out for that place, which they left there, and embarked another regiment from thence for England, with which they arrived at Spithead on the 20th of July.

On the following morning, one of the soldiers, who had been ordered to assist the ship's steward in the bread room, carelessly stuck a lighted candle in the corner of it, and left it burning, so that the place took fire; on hearing the alarm, Lieutenant Lockhart hastened to discover the seat of danger, and by

his active exertions, extinguished the flames just as they had communicated to the rosin: if the fire had continued one minute longer, the ship and six hundred persons then on board, must inevitably have perished; as the bread-rooms were round the magazine of powder, containing at that time three hundred barrels.

In November the ship was paid off, and in April 1753, Lieutenant Lockhart took that opportunity to visit Scotland; where, though he cannot be strictly said to have carried the laurels of victory, he may be truly described as bearing with him the reputation of having, by his conduct and bravery, assisted others to obtain them.

In September 1754, he came up to London: and on the 15th of December, a war with France being universally expected, Sir Peter Warren having died in 1751, Lord Anson, then first lord of the Admiralty, put the *Prince*, of ninety guns, then at Chatham, into commission, for his flag, and appointed Captain Saunders, afterward Admiral Sir Charles Saunders, K. B. to command her, and Mr. Lockhart to be her first lieutenant; the latter accordingly joined the ship on the 1st of January 1755, fitted her out, and carried her to Blackstakes; from thence he conducted her to Spithead, about the beginning of April; and on the 7th of May, was appointed commander of the *Savage* sloop, of twelve guns and seventy men. He cruised in her to the westward, under Admirals Hawke, Byng, and West, and in August received orders to seize French ships. Such orders he was ever ready to obey with the greatest alacrity, and took a *St. Domingo* merchantman, valued at 30,000*l.* and several Newfoundland bankers.

In November he was ordered to the Downs, under the command of Admiral Smith, and on the 15th of March 1756, was made post, and appointed to the command of the *Tartar*, of twenty-four guns, nine-pounders, and four four pounders, and two hundred men, built in a merchant yard at Deptford.

We have now considered this rising officer through all the subordinate gradations of his profession, and doing honour to them all. We have seen him the favourite of all his commanders, and the frequent object of their particular confidence. He had been selected, on many important occasions, by Anson, by Warren, and by Hawke.

On the 15th of May, while Captain Lockhart was lying at Long Reach, war was declared against France, when he was ordered first to the Downs, and afterwards to Spithead, where he arrived on the 5th of June; he then received orders to cruise under the command of Captain Duff, then in the Rochester, off the Isle of Bas, and afterwards under the command of Captain Wheeler.

On the 20th of September he chased and engaged two French frigates of twenty-eight guns, and drove them into Morlaix. He now represented to the Lords of the Admiralty, that, while on this active service, when he and every man under his command were constantly under arms and at their quarters in a state of preparation for engagement, there was no time for a minute attention to the hourly expenditure of stores, and that his officers were better employed as seamen and fighting men, than in book-keeping: their lordships, therefore, in consideration of the services which they expected from his courage and conduct, were pleased to order that Captain Lockhart and his officers should be dispensed from passing their accounts. An indulgence of which, we believe, there is not a similar instance in the records of the navy.

On the 1st of October he received orders from the Admiralty to cruise between the Isle of Bas and the Lizard, for the protection of the trade, and with full liberty to dock according to his own discretion. He continued on that station until November, 1758, when his ill state of health, the consequence of his indefatigable attentions to his duty, rendered it necessary, for the preservation of a life so important to

his country, to apply to the medicinal waters of Bath. During this period of service, from the 20th of September, 1756, to the 19th of October, 1758, he took nine privateers, from thirty-six guns and three hundred men, to eighteen guns, and an hundred and seventy men, amounting in all to two thousand five hundred prisoners of war, and two hundred and twenty guns, while he had only five men killed and two wounded in the different engagements.

Captain Lockhart's first capture, was the *Santa Maria*, a privateer new from the stocks, carrying twenty-four guns, and two hundred men. He afterwards engaged a French privateer carrying twenty nine-pounders, called the *Mont Ozier*. He next fell in with the *Duc D'Aquitain* French privateer, mounting twenty-six guns, all of them heavier than her own. After an encounter of an hour and twelve minutes, the enemy surrendered, having had fifty of her crew killed and wounded. He also made prize of a private ship of war called the *Count De Grammont*, carrying eighteen guns and one hundred and seventy men. Several other privateers of inferior force, though not one of them had less than eighteen guns and an hundred and seventy men, were captured by him, but his most brilliant action was yet to come.

The *Melampe* frigate had been fitted out at Bayonne for the express purpose of cruising in the supposed track of the *Tartar*, and gave Captain Lockhart an opportunity of achieving a victory, which, for comparative brilliance, was not surpassed during a war fatal to the naval power of France. The French ship possessed a force very superior to that of the *Tartar*, carrying thirty-six guns, twelve pounders, and three hundred chosen men. Some accounts have even added that one hundred of the crew were the sons of merchants, who presented themselves as volunteers in a cruise of such importance to the commercial interests of their country. After a chase of thirty hours, Captain Lockhart brought the enemy to an



engagement, which was contested for some time with great obstinacy, but the *Melampe* at last struck her colours to the superior courage and discipline of the British commander and his gallant crew. The perfidious Frenchman, however, stung with the disgraceful and mortifying event of a contest so unequal on the part of the British ship, after having hailed the *Tartar*, acknowledged his surrender, and submissively sued for quarter, made a desperate attempt to board her; it was, however, vigorously repulsed, and fifty Frenchmen were either killed or drowned in the prosecution of this dishonourable effort. It is stated in the official account, that when the *Tartar* first began the chase, she was in company with several of the king's ships, but during the action itself, and indeed at the time when the enemy surrendered, it is doubtful whether any of them were in sight, even from the mast-head.

When the relative force of the two ships is considered, the *Tartar* carrying twenty-eight guns and two hundred men, the *Melampe* thirty-six guns of a superior calibre, and three hundred men, and the little difficulty with which the conquest appears to have been obtained, we cannot be surprised at the terror which the very name of Captain Lockhart is said to have produced in the enemy before the cessation of hostilities, particularly among those connected with private ships of war.

The following fact, which is recorded on the most respectable authority, indubitably proves the terrific influence of his professional character. A privateer, belonging to Bristol, called the *King George*, and commanded by a Mr. Read, having fallen in with an enemy's ship of far superior force during the night, and finding that the exigencies of her situation demanded the most prompt and vigorous exertions to preserve her from capture; the commander is related to have ran with great spirit along-side, and, hailing the enemy, commanded her to strike to

the Tartar, Captain Lockhart, and was instantly obeyed.

In short, the services which this admirable officer performed in his small ship are still, as it were, proverbial in the navy, and continue to incite our young seamen to emulate that conduct which is at once the boast and safeguard of their country.

So active was Captain Lockhart in the protection of our own trade, and successful in the annoyance and destruction of that of the enemy, that the merchants of London and Bristol, sensible of the important benefits more immediately derived to them from his services, presented him with valuable pieces of plate, in token of their private gratitude and public esteem.

The grateful present of the merchants of London consisted of a cup and salver. The former of them was chased and embossed with the privateers he had taken, and his own ship and arms; and on the latter, which was twenty-six inches in diameter, was the following inscription:—"The gift of the two public companies, the under-writers and merchants of the city of London, to Captain John Lockhart, commander of the Tartar, for his signal service in supporting the trade, by distressing the French privateers, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven.

The merchants of Bristol also presented him with a gold cup, of the value of one hundred pounds.

In November, 1758, Captain Lockhart was appointed to the Chatham, of fifty guns, then launched at Portsmouth. After cruising some time in the North Seas, in 1759, he was at the bombardment of Havre de Grace, under Admiral Rodney.

In September he was ordered by Admiral Hawke, commanding the fleet off Brest, to go to Quiberon Bay, and put himself under the command of Captain Duff, to watch the motions of the enemy, as there was a considerable number of transports in Vannes,

and two thousand two hundred troops ready to embark. On the 19th of October, at three o'clock in the afternoon, a signal was made by one of the English frigates of a much superior force being in the offing. The squadron, therefore, consisting of one sixty-gun ship, three of fifty, and fourteen frigates, weighed and sailed out of the Tonnaux Passage. The enemy's fleet consisted of upwards of twenty sail of the line. About ten o'clock it began to blow fresh from the W. N. W.; at twelve the British squadron tacked and stood to the southward, and at day-light on the 20th found themselves stemming for the centre of the enemy's fleet, the wind at N. W. blowing hard and very squally; they then bore away to leeward of the enemy's sternmost ships, which were all laying to, with their heads to the northward, and who now wore and chased them till ten o'clock, the French admiral in the *Soleil Royal* being within random shot of Sir John Lockhart's ship for two hours, then going at the rate of twelve miles in the hour. At half past ten a fleet appeared to windward coming down upon them, when the French fleet left off chase, and bore away for Quiberon Bay. The fleet to windward consisted of twenty-two sail of the line, which proved to be English, under the command of Admiral Sir Edward Hawke, who made signal to form the line as the British headmost ships came up with the enemy's rear. At half past twelve, they being abreast of the Cardinals Rocks, began the engagement.

The *Magnanime* and *Chatham* engaged the *Héro*, of seventy-four guns, and obliged her to strike, when she came to an anchor, but no boat could be got on board her. The action continued till dark, when the admiral made the signal to anchor. Two of the French men of war were sunk in the action; the *Formidable*, of seventy-four guns, was taken possession of; while seven sail stood out of the bay and got to Rochfort. The *Soleil Royal* had an-

chored after dark near the Hero, but as soon as the day dawned cut her cable and run on shore near to Cross Island; the Hero followed her example. Seven more also cut their cables, and having thrown their guns and stores overboard, ran into the Vilaine, the spring tides and high north west winds favouring their passage over its bar. The Resolution having in the night run on shore on the Tour, the Essex, on the next day, was sent to assist her, but unfortunately shared her fate, and got on shore near her. Both these ships were lost, but their crews, however, were saved by the boats of the fleet, except about twenty men, who, venturing on rafts, and being at the same time in a state of intoxication, were driven out to sea.

On the 22d the English fleet stood into Vilaine Bay, but could make no attack on the enemy's ships, as they were over the bar. Captain Lockhart was ordered to burn the Soleil Royal and the Hero, which service was immediately effected. The admiral, on sending Captain Campbell home with his dispatches, appointed Captain Lockhart to command the Royal George in his absence. Having left some ships to watch the motions of the enemy's ships in the river Vilaine, the English fleet anchored in Quiberon Bay, where it rode out a very hard gale of wind, and never received any supplies or orders from England till the end of December.

On the 10th of January, 1760, Captain Lockhart was ordered to sail for Spithead in company with the Namur and the Ocean, where they arrived on the 25th, with no more than three days' provisions on board; having spared most of their stores to the fleet.

In February he was appointed to the command of the Bedford of seventy guns, then at Chatham; he accordingly fitted her out, and in May sailed for Quiberon Bay, to put himself under the command of Admiral Boscawen, who stationed him off the river

Vilaine, under the command of Lord Howe. Soon after his arrival there, Captain Lockhart received orders to attack a small fort on the Island of Damatte, which he took; when the mizen-mast and main-mast of his ship were shot in several places. In this situation he continued till the middle of December, when he was ordered home with a convoy, and arrived at Plymouth in January, 1761.

By the death of his brother, Colonel Sir James Ross, Bart. which happened in December, he succeeded to the estate of Balnagown, and took the name of Ross in addition to his own. Having obtained leave to remain on shore, Captain Lockhart Ross was elected a representative in parliament for the united burghs of Lanerk, Linlithgow, Selkirk, and Peebles.

On the 6th of September, 1762, he married Miss Elizabeth Baillie, of Lamington, eldest daughter of Robert Dundas, Esq. of Arniston, lord president of the Court of Session, and divided his time till 1765, between Liston Hall, in Essex, and London. In the month of April in that year, he removed with his family to Scotland, and made Balnagown his principal residence. In May, 1768, he was returned to parliament both by the borough of Lanark, &c. and the county of the same name, and took his seat for the latter. He continued to live with his family in all the enjoyments of domestic happiness, till he was summoned to exchange these calm scenes for the storms of the ocean and the thunders of war. The year 1777 brought with it the prospect of a rupture with France; and when a fleet was to be fitted out in consequence of that expectation, his country could not be so forgetful of her own interests and glory, as to leave Captain Lockhart Ross in a state of repose; she, therefore, called him to her service, and he willingly obeyed the call. Accordingly, in the month of September in the same year, he was commissioned for the *Shrewsbury*, of seventy-four guns,

then at Plymouth; and, in March, 1778, joined the grand fleet at Spithead under the command of Admiral Keppel. The *Shrewsbury* being very sickly, he was ordered to Plymouth to dock, smoke, and clean the ship, where he arrived on the 1st of June. The admiral proceeded off Brest with twenty sail of the line, and on discovering the superior force of the enemy, he returned to St. Helen's, with two French frigates which he had captured. He sailed again in the beginning of July, and Captain Lockhart Ross joined him off Plymouth on the 10th of the same month, having fitted his ship in four days after she came out of dock, and sailed with him to the westward. In the evening of the 23d, the English fleet fell in with twenty-two sail of French men of war. On the 24th in the morning they were about four leagues to windward. On the 27th, at eleven A. M. the *Shrewsbury* being the weathermost of the fleet, and the wind shifting some points in its favour, Captain Lockhart Ross began to engage the centre of the enemy, they being on different tacks. The *Shrewsbury* on this occasion had nine men killed, and received several shot in the masts, yards, and rudder. Our fleet passed that of the enemy, firing at them and receiving their fire, and in the evening brought to in a line of battle, about three miles to windward of the French fleet, in the expectation of renewing the engagement in the morning; but at day-light only three of their ships were seen to leeward at the distance of about five miles, while eight more were visible from the mast-head, and all of them steering for Brest; Ushant then bearing east by north twenty-two leagues. On the 1st of August the fleet returned to Plymouth Sound, when Captain Lockhart Ross received an account of the death of his brother, Sir George Lockhart, by which the baronetcy of the family, and the paternal estate of Carstairs, descended to him.

In the April following he was raised to the rank

of rear-admiral of the blue, hoisted his flag on board the Royal George, at Spithead, on the 29th of May, and was appointed fourth admiral of the Channel fleet, under the command of Sir Charles Hardy. They sailed June the 16th with thirty sail of the line, and returned to Torbay on the 6th of July. On the 14th of the same month, they sailed again to the westward, and on the 20th of August, being forty leagues W. S. W. of Ushant, they had intelligence that the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of sixty-six sail of the line, were off Plymouth. The wind being easterly, the English fleet made for the Channel, and on the 29th, in the evening, some ships were seen to the eastward, which were supposed to be a part of the combined fleets, but they afterwards proved to be twenty-nine sail of French victuallers. Admiral Hardy lay to throughout the night in a line of battle, and they were out of sight in the morning.

On the 1st of September the combined fleets appeared to the westward, Scilly bearing west four leagues, wind at north, when the English fleet made sail up the Channel, and was followed by the enemy; but never saw more than forty of them from the deck. It lost sight of them on the 2d, and on the 3d, anchored at Spithead.

On the 14th of the same month, Rear-admiral Sir John Lockhart Ross was ordered to Guernsey, with four ships of the line and fourteen frigates, on a report of that island being attacked by the French. He hoisted his flag, on this occasion, on board the Romney, and sailed on the 15th; but the report respecting Guernsey proved to be wholly destitute of foundation, and on the 24th he returned to Spithead.

He now received orders to put himself under the command of Admiral Sir George Rodney, and fitted the ship for foreign service. They sailed from St. Helen's on the 25th of December, with twenty sail

of the line, and five frigates, having under convoy some merchantmen for the West Indies, with some victuallers, and a regiment on board of transports for Gibraltar.

They parted with the West India convoy on the 3d of January, 1780, and on the 8th at seven in the morning, fell in with a fleet, which they chased, and by one o'clock took the whole, consisting of one Spanish man of war, of sixty-four guns, and twenty-one sail of merchant ships, bound to Cadiz, Cape Finisterre bearing N. 75. E. thirty-six leagues; eight of these prizes were sent to England under convoy of the *America* and a frigate.

At two in the afternoon of the 16th, Cape St. Vincent N. E. four leagues, they saw a Spanish fleet of eleven sail, chased and began to engage them by four o'clock, with blowing weather, squalls and rain; the action continued till two in the morning, in the course of which the Spanish Admiral Don Langara, in the *Phoenix*, of eighty guns, with five of seventy-four guns, were taken, and another was blown up in the action. The English fleet effectually relieved Gibraltar, where thirteen transports were left with the *Curaçoa* convoy. On the 13th of February the fleet sailed from thence with the Spanish men of war for England. On the 18th it parted company with Sir George Rodney, who took with him five sail of the line and two frigates for the West Indies. On the 23d, at noon, they chased twenty-three sail of ships, and took the *Prothée* French man of war, of sixty-four guns, and three small merchant ships, bound to the Mauritius, the rest escaping by favour of the night. The amount of these last prizes, divided among the captors, was 98,320*l.* Sir John Lockhart Ross anchored in Plymouth Sound on the 4th of March, with the *Phoenix*, and Admiral Digby proceeded to Spithead with the men of war, and remainder of the prizes.

The *Royal George* being ordered to be docked and



coppered, the rear-admiral obtained leave of absence, and set off for Scotland.

He returned to Portsmouth on the 19th of May, and Sir Charles Hardy having died on the 14th of that month, he received orders to hoist his flag, and put himself under the command of Admiral Geary, On the 8th of June they set sail with twenty-three ships of the line, and on the 4th of July chased, with the fleet, and took fourteen sail of merchantmen from St. Domingo, valued at 120,000*l.* and on the 12th of August returned to Spithead.

The Admirals Geary and Barrington having declined the command, the fleet sailed again on the 12th of September, under Admiral Darby, and on the 13th came to an anchor in Torbay.

On a promotion of flag-officers in the course of this month, Sir John Lockhart Ross was appointed a rear-admiral of the red.

On the 8th of October, in a hard gale of wind at S. E. attended with a very great sea, the rudder of the Royal George broke from the sternpost, as did that of the Namur. The Union and the Ocean suffered also in their rudders; and on the 17th Sir John Lockhart Ross returned with these disabled ships to Spithead. They were ordered immediately to dock, and the rear-admiral obtained leave of absence till his ship was refitted and got to Spithead. On the 20th of November he met part of his family at York, where he remained till the beginning of the following month, when he went for a short time to Bath. The Royal George anchored at Spithead on the 30th, and on the 2d of January 1781, he joined her and hoisted his flag.

In the month of March in the same year he again sailed in the Royal George, under the command of Admirals Darby and Digby, with twenty-six sail of the line, frigates and transports, containing stores and provisions for the relief of the garrison of Gibraltar. When the fleet arrived there, it was found

that the Spaniards had collected such a formidable flotilla of gun-boats for the purpose of impeding the disembarkation of any provisions or stores from the transports, as to render it absolutely necessary for several ships of the line to anchor in the bay for their protection. Sir John Lockhart Ross accordingly received orders to shift his flag to the *Alexander*, of seventy-four guns, and proceeded with her and five two-decked ships of his division, the frigates, and sixty sail of store-ships, into the bay, to superintend and direct the unloading of the stores, which he accomplished in six days, having landed seven thousand tons of provisions, and two thousand barrels of gunpowder, in the midst of a cannonade of which there are few if any examples; not less, at a moderate computation, than two hundred shot and shells having been thrown every hour whilst the ships remained at anchor in the bay. On the 20th he rejoined the fleet, when he received the thanks of the commander in chief, for his indefatigable attention to all points of this duty: a duty which was of the utmost importance, and of no common difficulty in the execution, as the gun-boats of the enemy, which carried eighteen and twenty-four pounders, were extremely troublesome and difficult to repel, in consequence of their lying so low in the water, as to render it almost impossible for the English ships of war to strike them with their shot, their guns being so much above them. Sir John Lockhart Ross, having re-shifted his flag to the *Royal George*, returned with the fleet to England.

In a short time after his return he was appointed to the chief command in the North Sea, whither he repaired with twelve sail of the line. While on this station, the Dutch fleet, though of superior force, never ventured out of the Texel, off which he almost daily made his appearance to look at and count them.

On the 24th of September 1787, he was advanced

to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue, which was the highest he lived to attain.

Here closed the professional career of Sir John Lockhart Ross; and when we consider his zeal, his activity, his uncommon ardour, in the prosecution of all the severe and unremitting duties of his hazardous profession, with the great benefits which the commercial interest reaped from his exertions, he must be allowed to rank with the first naval characters of his country. His coolness and intrepidity in the hour of battle were never surpassed; and, in the course of a long and active service, to fight and to conquer were alike habitual to him.

That he was a rigid disciplinarian did not arise from a sternness of character or a love of power, for he was gentle in his nature, and possessed all the mild qualities of humanity; but from a sense of his duty, and the knowledge of what discipline has ever done, and will ever do, in the British navy. Besides, he was respected and beloved by all the officers and men who served under him, as he never failed to combine the manners of a gentleman with the feelings of a man. Several of the brave seamen who had fought under his banners, when their public services were no longer required, retired, under his protection, to rural situations allotted them by his care and attention.

Sir John Lockhart Ross died on the 9th of June 1790, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, at his seat of Balnagown, after a lingering and painful illness, which he bore with Christian fortitude and resignation. On the 16th his remains were interred in the Ross Aisle, forming the east end of the church of Fearn, which has been the burying place of all the respectable families of the name of Ross, for several ages. The nobility and gentry of many miles round attended to honour the obsequies of a man, who was an honour to his name and nature, to his profession and his country.

## SIR RICHARD BICKERTON, BART.

REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE RED SQUADRON.

THIS gentleman was educated at Westminster School, entered into the royal Navy, and received his commission as lieutenant in the month of February, 1745-6. In 1759 he was rated post in the *Culoden*, and immediately afterwards sailed for the West Indies, in the *Glasgow*, of twenty guns. Having displayed much activity and gallantry in that quarter, he returned to Europe in 1761, and served for some time on the home station. In 1767 he again proceeded to the West Indies, in the *Renown*, a fifth rate; but quitting that ship before the conclusion of the following year, he remained unemployed till the end of the year 1770, when, on the apprehended rupture with Spain, he was appointed to the *Marlborough*, of seventy-four guns, in which he remained for three years. When the King reviewed the fleet at Portsmouth, in 1773, Captain Bickerton had the task of steering his Majesty's barge, on which occasion he received the honour of knighthood on board the *Barfleur*.

On quitting the *Marlborough*, Sir Richard was appointed to the *Augusta* yacht, in which he continued till the year 1777; when, the dispute with America having commenced, he was nominated to the *Terrible*, of seventy-four guns, in which ship he was present at the encounter which took place with le Comte d'Orvilliers, off Ushant, on the 27th of July. In the May preceding, when the second naval review took place, Sir Richard was raised to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain. In the month of April, 1778, having been ordered on a cruise in the bay, in company with the *Familles*, he fell in with a French convoy of thirty sail of merchantmen, of which

eight or more became their prize; and the rest were so completely dispersed, that several of them were afterwards picked up by different cruisers and privateers.

Sir Richard continued in the *Terrible* till the end of the year; when, that ship being under orders for the West Indies, he quitted her, and was appointed to the *Fortitude*, of the same force, in the Channel fleet. In the spring of 1781, he accompanied Vice-admiral Darby on his expedition for the relief of Gibraltar. On his return to England, the *Fortitude* having been nominated as the flag ship of Vice-admiral Hyde Parker, Sir Richard left her; and in the month of August following, in consequence of his Majesty's intention to visit the North Sea squadron at the Nore, he was re-appointed to the *Augusta*. Before the end of the year he hoisted his broad pendant, as an established commodore, on board the *Gibraltar*, of eighty guns. In February, 1782, he sailed with the convoy for India, with a considerable force, and joined Sir Edward Hughes there, just in time to share in the encounter which took place with Suffrein on the 20th of June 1783. In the year 1784 he returned to England, and early in 1786 was appointed commodore on the Leeward Island station, where he hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Jupiter*; but on account of bad health resigned, when Commodore Parker succeeded him. In September 1787, he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue. At the time of the armament against Spain, in 1790, he hoisted his flag on board the *Impregnable*, in the Channel fleet; and, after that threatening storm had blown over, he was appointed port admiral at Plymouth; in consequence of which he removed his flag into the *St. George*. Unfortunately he did not long enjoy this command, as, he was unexpectedly carried off by an apoplectic fit, on the 28th of Feb. 1792.

## SIR HYDE PARKER, BART.

VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE SQUADRON.

THIS gentleman was the descendant of an ancient and highly respectable family, which is understood to have settled at Hoberton, in Devonshire, early in the fifteenth century. He was the second son of the Rev. Hyde Parker, rector of Tredington, in Worcestershire, who married the daughter of a Mr. Reeves; and grandson of Sir Henry Parker, Bart. by Margaret, the daughter of Dr. Alexander Hyde, bishop of Salisbury.

His earlier services are unrecorded; but, on the 16th of Jan. 1744-5, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. The time of his holding the intermediate rank of commander must have been short; as, on the 24th of March, 1747-8, he was made post, in the *Lively* frigate. It was on board the *Lively*, that his son first entered the service. In 1757, he commanded the *Squirrel*, of twenty guns; but, whilst in this ship, he is mentioned only as having stopped, at Embden, a considerable quantity of forage, which was intended for the use of the French army; and, by the following memorandum, as the captor of the *America*:—

“ The right honourable the lords of appeal heard council on the ship *America*, Lewis Ferret, taken by his Majesty’s ship the *Squirrel*, Hyde Parker, Esq. commander; when their lordships pronounced, that the ship *America* in question in this cause, having been freighted on French account, and employed in a voyage to St. Domingo, a French settlement in the West Indies; having delivered her outward-bound cargo with permission of the French governor there, and her homeward-bound cargo having been put on board after a survey, subject to the payment of the several duties, customs, and penalties agreeable to the laws of France, the master having also destroyed

the bill of lading, with many other of the ship's papers, and the cargo found on board being admitted to be the property of French subjects, declared, that the said ship ought, by law, to be condemned in this case as a French ship; they therefore affirmed the sentence, condemning the ship and cargo as a prize."

In the course of the same year, 1757, Captain Parker was appointed to the Brilliant frigate; and, in the month of April, 1759, whilst commanding that ship, he captured the Basque, a large French privateer, of twenty-two guns, nine pounders, and two hundred and ten men.

In 1760, he was promoted to the Norfolk, of seventy-four guns, and sent out to the East Indies. Soon after his arrival there, he removed into the Grafton, of seventy guns, Rear-admiral Cornish having taken the Norfolk for his flag-ship. Towards the close of the year, Admiral Stevens, the commander-in-chief, was employed in the blockade of Pondicherry, whence he was driven, by a sudden and tremendous hurricane, on the 1st of January, 1761. On the 3d of that month, however, he resumed his station, having been joined by Captain Parker's ship, the Norfolk, with the Grafton, and the Liverpool. In the same month, Captain Parker assisted, as one of the council of war, which was convened for the purpose of answering the demand, made by Governor Pigot, that the town of Pondicherry should be delivered into the hands of the East India Company.

Captain Parker's next ship was the Panther, of sixty guns, into which he removed in 1762; and in which he served under Admiral Cornish, on the memorable and successful expedition against Manilla. It was on the 24th of September, assisted by the Captains Kempenfeldt and Briereton, that he superintended the landing of the troops, through a most violent

surf, by which many of the boats were dashed to pieces, and a quantity of arms and ammunition was damaged.

After the reduction of Manilla, Captain Parker, accompanied by Captain, the late Sir Richard King, in the *Argo*, was despatched in quest of the *St. Philippina*, a rich galleon, which Admiral Cornish had been informed was on her passage from Acapulco to Manilla. The *Panther* and *Argo* sailed from Manilla on the 4th of October; and, on the 50th, they fell in with, and gave chase to, a large ship, which they took for the *St. Philippina*, but which afterwards proved to be the *Santissima Trinidad*, another galleon, larger than an English seventy-four. She had seven hundred men on board; but had been dismasted in a gale of wind, and had but few guns mounted. Captain Parker, by the rapidity of a counter current, was driven amongst the *Naranjos*, reduced to the utmost hazard of wreck, and compelled to drop his anchor, to wait for the turn of the tide. Captain King continued the pursuit, and came up with the chase; but, after an encounter of two hours, was compelled to desist. During the action, however, the current slackened, Captain Parker got under weigh, gave chase a second time, got up with the enemy; and, after a continued cannonade, of upwards of two hours, he compelled him to surrender. The value of the prize, though less than that of the *St. Philippina*, is said to have been upwards of 500,000*l*.

Captain Parker had no further opportunity of distinguishing himself in the East Indies; but probably returned to England in the *Norfolk*, in 1764.

In consequence of the peace, which had taken place in 1763, Captain Parker, in common with many other deserving officers, remained for a considerable time unemployed. In 1772, we find him commanding the *Boston*, of thirty-two guns, a cruiser on the home station; and, in 1777, he was appointed



to the *Invincible*, of seventy-four guns, one of the ships which were put into commission, in consequence of the hostile aspect of France.

On the 23d of January, 1778, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue squadron; and, having hoisted his flag on board the *Royal Oak*, he was appointed second in command of the fleet which sailed to America, in June, under Vice-admiral Byron, in quest of M. D'Estaing's squadron, which had left Toulon about the middle of the preceding April. On the 3d of July the fleet was dispersed by a violent storm; and the vice-admiral, who had his flag on board the *Princess Royal*, of ninety-eight guns, arrived alone off Sandy Hook on the 18th of August. D'Estaing was at anchor there before him, and in such a situation as to prevent him from getting either into New York or Rhode Island; in consequence of which he bore away for Halifax, which he reached in safety on the 26th.

Rear-admiral Parker, having shifted his flag into the *Conqueror*, arrived at New York on the 29th of August, carrying in with him the *Royal Oak*, *Fame*, *Sultan*, *Bedford*, and *Grafton*, but all of them in a very shattered and disabled state.

Soon afterwards, in consequence of the vice-admiral's return to England, the chief command devolved upon this officer, who remained upon the same station, during the winter season, with a large squadron.

Rear-admiral Parker's operations, in protecting the commerce of England, and in distressing that of the enemy, were extremely successful; a considerable number of ships of large burthen, laden with provisions, ammunition, stores, and merchandise of different kinds, falling into the hands of his cruisers. At one time (on the 22d of September) seven vessels, all armed, were captured; some of them of six hundred tons burthen, and mounting thirty guns each. Nor was his success confined merely to cap-

tures of this description; for several frigates and ships of war were also taken. The most important of these were, the *Alcmene*, of thirty-two guns; the *Compass*, of twenty; the *Fortunée*, of forty-two; the *Blanche*, of thirty-eight; and the *Ellis*, of twenty-eight; together with the *Sphynx*, a British frigate, which had been taken by the enemy a short time before.

About eight o'clock, in the morning of the 18th of December, the *Preston* being on the look-out between *Martinique* and *St. Lucia*, was observed to be standing over, with the signal flying for having discovered a fleet. Rear-admiral *Parker*, who was lying with the squadron in *Gros Islet Bay*, immediately put to sea, and stretched over to *Fort Royal*. The fleet which had been seen was soon discovered to be an enemy's convoy, which, on the appearance of the British squadron in chase, was thrown into the greatest disorder. About 4 P.M. nine or ten sail of them had been run on shore on the coast of *Martinique*, and had been set on fire by our boats. By this time, the *Boreas* had brought a French frigate to action in *Fort Royal Bay*, and most probably would have carried her, had not *M. De la Motte Piquet* slipped his cables, with two other seventy-four gun ships, and borne down to her assistance; by which manœuvre he also saved a part of the convoy. The account of this affair is thus given in the admiral's own words:—

“ On the 18th of December, the *Preston*, being between *Martinico* and *St. Lucia* to windward, made the signal for a fleet, which was no sooner observed on board the *Princess Royal*, than a signal was thrown out for the ships under my command to slip their cables and chase to windward. The captains were then assembled at a court martial, and as the ships were in a course of fitting, some lay on the heel, others had their sails unbent, and from all of them, great numbers were employed on shore in

wooding and watering. Under these circumstances, the alertness and despatch with which the ships put to sea was surprising even to me, who am no stranger to the activity and briskness of English officers and seamen. As the squadron stood over for Fort Royal, the enemy's ships were discovered to be a convoy. Before four in the afternoon nine or ten of them run themselves on shore on the island of Martinico, and were set on fire by our boats, either immediately or the next morning. About the same time I observed the Boreas engaged with a French frigate in Port Royal Bay: a French rear-admiral, with two other seventy-four gun ships, slipped their cables and bore down upon him, which obliged the Boreas to sheer off. This dexterous manœuvre saved their frigate and some of their merchant ships. The French admiral hauled his wind in good time, and kept plying for the road."

Rear-admiral Parker returned to St. Lucia with his prizes.

In February, 1780, M. De Guichen arrived at Martinique, with a re-enforcement of seventeen ships of the line, four frigates, and three luggers; a circumstance which rendered the force of the French fleet so strikingly superior to that of the British, that the commander of the latter was under the necessity of acting merely on the defensive, until the arrival of Sir George Rodney, which took place on the 27th of March, with four ships of the line. Previously to this, the French fleet had been for several days parading in sight of the island of St. Lucia, and had retired into Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, only a few hours before Sir George Rodney joined Rear-admiral Parker, in Gross Islet Bay.

On the 2d of April, the British fleet, which was then in good order, proceeded off Fort Royal Bay, and continued there two days; but De Guichen, notwithstanding his numbers were still superior, refused to venture out. A squadron of copper-bottomed ships

was therefore left to watch his motions, and the rest of the fleet returned to its anchorage in Gros Islet Bay. In the night of the 15th, the French admiral put to sea: on the 16th, he was discovered in the north-west; and, on the 17th, a general chase having been ordered, the British fleet came up with, and engaged him. The particulars of this action are so fully given in our memoir of Lord Rodney, that we shall not here repeat them; observing only, that Rear-admiral Parker, who commanded the second, or van division, in the *Princess Royal*, of ninety guns, behaved with the greatest gallantry and good conduct.

It does not appear that he was engaged in the ensuing skirmishes; but, after shifting his flag into the *Medway*, of sixty guns, he took charge of a convoy, and returned to England.

On the 26th of September, he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue. The first appointment which he received, after this promotion, was in March, 1781, when he hoisted his flag in the *Victory*, of one hundred guns, as commander of a small squadron, which was ordered to cruise in the North Seas. Agreeably to a subsequent arrangement, he shifted his flag into the *Fortitude*, of seventy-four guns, a ship that was thought to be better adapted to the service.

With this force, he sailed from Portsmouth on the 3d of June, convoying the outward-bound Baltic fleet into the Sound. Captain Sir Hyde Parker, the son of the vice-admiral, afterwards joined the squadron, in the *Latona*; and, previously to the 5th of August, when they fell in with the Dutch fleet and convoy on the Dogger Bank, the British force had been augmented to seven ships of two decks, four stout frigates, and a cutter. The result of this action, as we have seen, was not satisfactory; but the Dutch squadron had considerably the advantage in point of strength; and it was generally admitted, that no

blame whatever attached to the admiral. He shortly after struck his flag.

It was in the course of the same year, that, on the death of his elder brother, the Rev. Sir Henry Parker, he succeeded to the dignity of a baronet.

In April, 1782, a change of administration having taken place, Sir Hyde received an appointment as commander-in-chief of the fleet which was then employed in the East Indies, and hoisted his flag on board the *Cato*, a new ship, of fifty-eight guns. He sailed on the 13th of October following; and, having wooded and watered at Rio Janeiro, he left that port on the 12th of December; subsequently to which period, no certain intelligence whatever was received of him or of his ship.

For a long time it was conjectured that the *Cato* had either foundered, or had taken fire, and been blown up at sea; but, from an account which was laid before the lords of the Admiralty, in the year 1791, there was reason to suppose that she had been wrecked on the Malabar coast, and that her officers and crew had been barbarously murdered by the natives. The untimely fate of this brave and meritorious commander, and of his gallant crew, was long and deeply regretted by the country.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Naval History from the Beginning of the first French Revolutionary War, in 1793, to the end of 1797.*

**B**EFORE the meeting of parliament, which took place on the 13th of December, 1792, it was abundantly evident that a war between France and England would speedily occur. The public, therefore, were not surprised at the speech which was delivered from the throne on that occasion : his Majesty, in the first place, pointed out the necessity under which he had been laid, of calling out and embodying part of the militia ; the spirit of disaffection, which had spread through the nation, and the seditious practices to which this spirit, in many places, had given birth, demanded, and justified this exercise of the royal prerogative. From describing the state of the country as disaffected, his Majesty proceeded to point out the connections of those who had engaged in seditious practices with persons in foreign countries : this naturally led him to express the sincere desire he had, and the means he had uniformly made use of since the commencement of the French revolution, to preserve peace by carefully abstaining from all interference with respect to the internal state of France : but, notwithstanding the undoubted sincerity of his wish to remain at peace, he was apprehensive that a regard to the honour, welfare, and the dignity of his people, would reluctantly compel him to go to war. Besides these reasons, for at least anticipating and being prepared for the commencement of hostilities, he was bound by the treaties between Great Britain and the States-general, to protect them from the actual and the

threatened aggressions of France: this power, since the revolution, had already over-run the Belgic provinces, and had manifested symptoms, by no means equivocal, that the United Provinces would be the next object of her attack; while already the opening of the Scheldt had been demanded in the most peremptory manner, of the Dutch. Against this measure, Great Britain was bound by the most solemn treaties to protest; and, if it were necessary, even to have recourse to active measures of warfare. On all these grounds, his Majesty trusted that parliament would be prepared for the adoption of such measures as would at once preserve and secure the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and enable his Majesty, if necessary, to give effectual support to his allies the States-general.

The address, which as usual was an echo of the speech, was opposed in the House of Commons, by Mr. Fox; who denied that the internal state of the country was such as had been represented, or such as to justify the assembling of parliament, or the calling out of the militia. This gentleman concluded his speech by an amendment proposing that the house should enter into an immediate examination of the facts, which were stated in his Majesty's speech, as the causes for assembling the parliament. The amendment was warily opposed by Mr. Windham, and several of those members who had formerly voted with Mr. Fox; the French revolution having caused a decided and rather a violent difference of opinion among them. When the house divided, there appeared for the address two hundred and ninety, for the amendment fifty: leaving a majority of two hundred and forty in support of the measures of ministers. In the House of Lords, the address was moved by the earl of Hardwicke; and opposed principally by the marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Rawdon; the former of which moved an amendment similar to that which was proposed in the House of

Commons by Mr. Fox. This amendment, however, was negatived without a division.

The symptoms of an approaching warfare continued to increase till the 24th of January, 1793, when Lord Grenville intimated to the French minister in London, that he must quit the kingdom in eight days; and on the 1st of February, the national assembly unanimously agreed to a decree, declaring the republic of France at war with the king of Great Britain, and the stadtholder of Holland. In this decree, the first charge brought against this country is, that "the king of England has not ceased, especially since the 10th of August, 1792, to give proofs of his being evil disposed towards the French nation, and of his attachment towards the coalition of crowned heads." On this charge, it may be remarked, that it is extremely loose and general; there is no specification of any hostile or unfriendly act, on the part of the king of Great Britain; and still less any proof brought forward that his disposition or intentions were of the nature and tendency described. Accordingly this loose and unsupported charge was met and repelled by the British court, by a direct and positive denial; the only mode of answering and refuting it which could be adopted.

The next charge was, "that the king of England had ordered his ambassador at Paris to withdraw, because he would not acknowledge the provisional executive council, created by the legislative assembly." In reply to this charge, the British government contended that, according to the law and usages of nations, they had an undoubted right to recall their ambassador from any state, as soon as the government to whom he was sent as an accredited agent, ceased to exist, which was the case in France, after the revolutions of the 10th of August and the 10th of September: that even if he had been permitted to continue, he could not have acted in his capacity and character of ambassador, since in the course of a very



short time several different parties had been in possession of the supreme power in France: that, therefore, in reality, the recall of the British ambassador, was not in consequence of any hostile disposition on the part of the king of England, but merely the necessary result of the unsettled state of the French government.

The next charge was of a similar nature, and founded on the same principle as the one just noticed. "That the cabinet of St. James had ceased, since the 10th of August, to correspond with the French ambassador in London, on pretence of the suspension of the heretofore king of the French; that since the opening of the national convention, it refused to resume the usual correspondence between the two states, and to acknowledge the powers of the convention; and that it refused to acknowledge the ambassador of the French republic, although provided with letters of credit in its name;" to this it was replied by our government that M. Chauvelin was received at this court as the ambassador of the king of France; that when the king was suspended, he seemed to consider his character and powers at an end, since he no longer held any communication with the British government, or acted in the capacity of ambassador: and that when he received his letters of credence, to act here as the ambassador of the French republic, the cabinet of St. James refused to accept them, because many instances of a hostile spirit, on the part of that power, whose ambassador he was, had already been displayed; and it would not have been becoming in our government to have acknowledged the French republic, at the very moment when they were cruelly and unjustly exercising their power against that authority, which they had usurped, by the trial and consequent condemnation of their sovereign.

In reply to the charge that the court of St. James put a stop to the purchases of corn, arms, and other commodities, ordered in England, either by French citizens, or by the agents of the republic; it was

contended that it was perfectly justified in so doing ; since there was ample and satisfactory ground to believe, that if these purchases had been suffered to go on, the British government would in reality have been furnishing the means of hostility against their allies.

The charges next worth noticing, are the two following ; “ that in violation of the fourth article of the treaty of 1786, the court of St. James obtained another act, in the month of January, 1793, which subjected all French citizens residing in or coming into England, to forms the most inquisitorial, vexatious and dangerous :” “ and that at the same time, and contrary to the first article of the peace of 1783, it granted protection and pecuniary aid not only to the emigrants but even to the chiefs of the rebels, who had already fought against France : that it maintained with them a daily correspondence, evidently directed against the French revolution ; and that it also received the chiefs of the rebels of the French West India colonies :” to the former of these charges it was replied, that every state has a right to make and enforce such regulations for its internal peace and safety as it may deem proper and necessary : that France itself had broken the article of the treaty referred to, in obliging every Englishman who entered France to procure passports ; that they had even gone farther than the court of St. James in this respect ; for while in England, aliens were only obliged to shew their passports to civil magistrates : in France every stranger was obliged to exhibit them to every officer and soldier of the regular army, of the national guards, and even of the gendarmerie who should think proper to demand a sight of them. When an alien arrived in England, and had obtained his passport, he might live in security, undisturbed by the government or its agents, provided he did not infringe the laws, or afford room for suspicion : whereas in France, every Englishman was liable to

visits from persons sent to search for arms, and to other formalities, extremely troublesome as well as degrading and mortifying. If the French government justified these measures, on the plea, that, in the actual state of the country, they were necessary to secure its peace and tranquillity; the English government had a similar plea to bring forward: and in fact, the whole amounted to this, that every government must be allowed to be the best judge of the internal state of its own country, and of the nature and character of the measures which that internal state calls for and demands: that France had acted on this principle, and that England had done no more.

In the reply to the other charge respecting the encouragement and protection given by the English court to the emigrants; it was contended, that it might be considered in two points of view; and that in one of these points, it was perfectly harmless, even if admitted or proved; while, in the other point of view, it was a mere broad and general assertion, without the shadow of a proof: if the charge meant that the English government and nation received and treated with humanity and kindness those who fled to this country, stripped of all their property, and banished from their native land, it was admitted in its full extent; but it was difficult to perceive, how it involved or proved any thing of a hostile disposition on the part either of the British government or the British nation towards the French republic; but if the charge was intended to embrace something more; if it was intended to stigmatize the court of St. James with having received the emigrants for the purpose of supporting their cause, it was a charge destitute of proof; brought forward indeed in a broad and sweeping manner, but not resting upon any specific and well authenticated circumstances. But even the charge, viewed in this light, might be retorted on the French republic; since they had encouraged emigrants from Holland, had formed them into a corps, called them

the Batavian Legion, and placed them on the frontiers of Holland, in order to encourage a revolutionary spirit and party in that country.

The only other charge which it will be necessary to state and examine, states, "that, with the same spirit, without any provocation, and when all the maritime powers were at peace with England, the cabinet of St. James ordered a considerable naval armament, and an augmentation of the land forces: that this armament was ordered at a moment when the English minister was bitterly persecuting those who supported the principles of the French constitution in England, and was employing all possible means, both in parliament and out of it, to cover the French republic with ignominy, and to draw upon it the execration of the English nation, and of all Europe: and that the object of this armament, intended against France, was not even discussed in the English parliament." The reply to this charge, which bore on its features more of the character of directness and truth than most of the others, which formed the subject of the decree, was plain and distinct. The British armaments were not begun till the French government had sent a considerable fleet into the Mediterranean: till it had overrun with its armies the Austrian Netherlands, and violated in the most palpable and gross manner, the rights of the allies of Great Britain, while it had absolutely refused to give any satisfactory explanation of its conduct or views. That branch of the charge, which relates to the persecution of those in England, who favoured French principles, is ridiculous and weak in the extreme, if urged as a reason for going to war; and is not very relevant or powerful, if meant as affording a proof that the designs of the British government, in the armament she prepared, were hostile to France.

The decree of the national assembly declaring the republic of France at war with the king of Great Britain, was issued as has been noticed, on the 1st of

February; on the 11th of the same month, the cabinet of St. James published a counter declaration, in which it was stated “that divers injurious proceedings had lately taken place in France, in derogation of his Majesty’s crown, and the just rights of his people; and that several unjust seizures had been made of the ships and goods of his Majesty’s subjects, followed afterwards by an open declaration of war against his Majesty and his ally the republic of the United States.” It must in candour and justice be admitted, that if the reasons for going to war with England, contained in the decree of the national assembly, were most of them very loose and general; the reasons given by the court of St. James, bore too much the same character. The following are two of the most imposing and plausible: in the first place, that the French government, after having conquered the Austrian Netherlands, had declared not only its design but its right, to open the navigation of the Scheldt. Great Britain was solemnly bound by treaties, with the republic of the United States, to prevent this; and as the French government, notwithstanding the remonstrances and representations of the court of St. James, persisted in their design to open the navigation of the river, it was contended that this was one good and just reason for going to war. On this it may be observed, that no war can be just or necessary, where it is not a less evil, than that which it is proposed and intended to prevent or remove: there can be no doubt that many grievances are of such a comparatively trifling nature, that to go to war, because no redress could be had for them, would be the height of folly, impolicy and injustice; and it would be difficult to prove that the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, would have injured our allies so much that it ought to have been prevented by us, even at the risk, much less at the actual expence and misery of war; but to this must be added, this most important consideration—that our allies,

the Dutch, did not call upon us, to prevent the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, even by negotiation; and there is something so quixotic, in a nation coming forward in support of the rights of its ally, when that ally either does not consider its rights infringed, or regards them as of little or no moment; that some other motive than mere anxiety to support treaties that have been guaranteed, will unavoidably and naturally be suspected to have influenced a nation acting in this manner.

In the second place, the French Republic had issued a decree, "that they would grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wished to procure liberty, and they charged their generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend such citizens as suffered in the cause of liberty." Although in the counter declaration issued by the court of St. James, this decree was not formally brought forth as one of the reasons for going to war; yet from the debates in parliament it was abundantly evident, that it, viewed in connection with the internal state of England, had great influence in deciding ministers to take that step. Now, though it is readily admitted that the decree in question, so far as a mere public paper could go, was decidedly hostile to every government, and betrayed a disposition to interfere between the people and their rulers; yet surely, unless it was followed up by a line of conduct such as it threatened, it could be neither a just nor a politic reason for going to war. If wars are to ensue when even the ambition or the madness of government prompts them to use hostile language, peace would be still a greater stranger to mankind than it is at present. With respect to the reason for going to war, held out indirectly, though not plainly and officially by the English ministry, that thus they should be best enabled to put a stop to the propagation and spread of French principles in this kingdom, it was, to use the mildest expression, a very weak

and frivolous one; to put down internal disaffection and disturbance, by encreasing the causes of it, was certainly a weak attempt; and even if this had been the most effectual mode of restoring internal tranquillity, it was only substituting one evil for another. It may be supposed that we have dwelt too long on the examination of the reasons for going to war, respectively urged by the British and French governments: but when the nature, the extent, the duration, and the consequences of this war, are maturely weighed and considered, it must be admitted that the causes which led to it, as well as the reasons which each party held out, in justification of their conduct in embarking in it, deserve particular attention and examination. Viewed in that point of light in which the nature of the present work calls upon us more particularly to place and regard it, it still must be deemed and treated as a most important war; the maritime battles which were fought during its continuance, or during the subsequent war to which the one which began in 1793, may be regarded as the prelude—brought so much glory and advantage to Great Britain, raised the strength as well as the renown of her navy to such a pitch, and so completely humbled the naval strength of all her enemies, that even in this light the commencement of it requires to be ushered in by a formal investigation of its causes, and of the reasons given by the two principal powers for embarking in it.

As soon as war was declared, the following supplies were granted for the sea-service: for forty-five thousand men, including five thousand marines, 2,340,000*l.*; for the ordinary, including half-pay, 669,205*l.*; extraordinaries 387,710*l.*; ordnance, not provided for in 1791, 32,068*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*; towards paying off the navy debt, 575,000*l.* making a total of 4,003,984*l.*; the total supplies granted for the year were 16,698,553*l.* 3*s.* 1½*d.* The number of flag-officers was sixty-four; of post-captains, four

hundred and thirty-one; of masters and commanders, one hundred and sixty-three; and of lieutenants, one thousand four hundred and twenty-nine; twenty-one sail of the line, and several frigates, besides those which were already in commission, were ordered to be got ready for sea with the utmost expedition.

The first object of importance on which Great Britain employed the fleets was the occupation of Toulon; in the south of France a strong royalist party existed; and to take an advantage of this party, Lord Hood was sent into the Mediterranean. As soon as he arrived off Toulon, he issued a declaration addressed to the inhabitants of that city and of Marseilles, in which he promised them the assistance of his Britannic Majesty, and the protection of their private property, provided they would make a candid and full declaration in favour of monarchy, hoist the standard of royalty, and place the ships, port, and forts, provisionally at his disposal: the wish and the only object of his Britannic Majesty in making this offer, he added, was that of restoring peace to France on just and honourable terms; when that desirable event took place, every thing that had been given up should be again put in possession of the lawful rulers of that kingdom. Besides this declaration, Lord Hood issued a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants in the towns and provinces of the South of France, in which, after painting in strong and vivid colours the wretchedness to which they were reduced by the folly and madness of those who had usurped the government, and stating the reasons, grounded on a regard to its own dignity, honour, and self-defence, which had compelled Great Britain to declare war against France; he invited them to put their hopes in the generosity of a loyal and free nation, which, if they separated themselves from those who had usurped the government, and if they returned to their allegiance, would relieve their present wants, protect them from injury, and put an



end to the misery and anarchy, under which they had suffered for upwards of four years.

As soon as these official papers were received, that party which was attached to the royal cause, signified in the plainest and fullest manner their willingness to accept of the terms proposed; and in proof of their acceptance and sincerity, they immediately proclaimed Louis XVII. king of France. The white flag, the signal of their return to their allegiance, was to be hoisted as soon as the English squadron should anchor in the road of Toulon.

In the mean time Don Juan de Langara, who commanded the Spanish fleet off the coast of Rossellon, and to whom Lord Hood had communicated his plans, and the probability of their success, joined him with his squadron, having between two and three thousand of the best troops of the army of Rossellon on board. On the 27th of August Lord Hood made the necessary arrangements to land fifteen hundred men, in order to gain possession of the forts which commanded the ships in the roads. This object was accomplished, without difficulty or loss, on the following day. As soon as this was effected, a message was sent to St. Julien, who had been appointed by the French sailors to the command of the fleet on the defection of Admiral Trogoff, that every vessel which did not immediately proceed into the inner harbour, and put their powder on shore, should be regarded and treated as enemies: most of the seamen adhered to St. Julien, while the officers were disposed to go over with the admiral: the result was, that all the ships but seven removed into the inner harbour in the course of the day. A short time afterwards, the republican general, Carteaux, who came near Toulon, with seven hundred and fifty men and ten pieces of cannon, was attacked and defeated, with the loss of their cannon, ammunition, horses, and colours, by six hundred British and Spanish troops under the command of Captain Elphinstone.

The situation of the British, and of those French who had joined them, soon became unpleasant: the first circumstance which caused uneasiness, though it did not amount to alarm was, the behaviour and disposition of the five thousand seamen, who had been taken on board of the seven ships which had not gone along with the rest into the inner harbour; they were so strongly and warmly attached to the convention, and displayed their attachment in such a turbulent manner, that Admiral Trogoffe made a strong representation to Lord Hood respecting them; he considered that their longer continuance in Toulon would endanger the safety of the place. It was therefore determined to send them in four of the most unserviceable ships of the line, dismantled of all their guns, except two in each vessel, under a flag of truce, to Brest, L'Orient, and Rochfort.

It was soon evident that the Republican generals in the neighbourhood of Toulon, would use every endeavour to drive the English out, and re-gain possession of that important place; for this purpose they took possession of the heights of Pharon, whence it was deemed necessary immediately to dislodge them, if possible: for this purpose, the combined British, Spanish, and Neapolitan troops attacked them with great bravery and impetuosity; and succeeded, not only in dislodging them, but also in killing, wounding, or taking prisoners, nearly fifteen hundred out of two thousand, of which their force consisted. The republican generals, however, undaunted by defeat, came on with fresh men; their next object was Fort Mulgrave, situated on some heights, which commanded the town and harbour of Toulon: here again they were unsuccessful, with the loss of six hundred men in killed and wounded. Their next attempt was much more successful; they erected and opened a battery, from which shells could reach the town and arsenal: this it was absolutely necessary to destroy, and for this purpose, General O'Hara sent a

force of two thousand three hundred : at first they succeeded completely in their object ; the battery was surprised and carried : but the troops flushed with their victory, and carried on by their consequent ardour and impetuosity, pursued the enemy with such rapidity, that they became divided and disorderly ; the enemy perceiving, took advantage of this circumstance ; they rallied, collected in great force, and in their turn became the assailants. The combined army being now obliged to retreat, without being able to recover their ardour, or to form into a regular and compact mass, General O'Hara, who had gone out himself, after the redoubt was taken, in order to rally and encourage the troops, mixed with them, and was wounded and made prisoner. As the enemy had not been discouraged by the want of success, and the losses which they had sustained, when they first made their approaches toward Toulon, they naturally had their hopes greatly eased by the issue of this battle : every day they received reinforcements ; and they were indefatigable in erecting batteries against all the strong posts ; and notwithstanding repeated interruptions and attacks, from the combined forces, they accomplished their object most completely. The night of the 18th of December was extremely dark and tempestuous ; it was, therefore, fixed upon as favourable for the execution of the design the enemy had planned : this was, to storm Fort Mulgrave, and thus to gain the command of the town and harbour of Toulon. The fort was stormed and taken ; and in the course of the subsequent day, they also gained possession of the whole peninsula. It was now absolutely necessary to remove the ships from the inner harbour, and to moor them farther out, in order to place them beyond the reach of the cannon of the enemy.

It was now too evident, that the place was no longer tenable ; even if the French should not augment their force, or increase their means of attack.

A general council of war was accordingly held : in which it was resolved to adopt immediate measures for the evacuation of the town and arsenal, and for the destruction of the ships of war. On the evening of that very day, on which this resolution was come to, the artillery, stores, troops, and several thousand French royalists were embarked, without the loss of a single man. The most important and by far the most difficult and dangerous measures, still remained to be accomplished ; and the execution of it was committed to Sir Sydney Smith, a man who has few equals for coolness and presence of mind, for unshaken and determined bravery, and for all those qualities which distinguish and exalt the character of a British seaman.

Sir Sydney Smith had under his direction and command three English and three Spanish gun-boats, and the Swallow tender : he first proceeded to the arsenal, and made the necessary preparations for burning the ships and stores which were in it. The people belonging to the dock yard, had already substituted the tri-coloured cockade for the white one, but they were not sufficiently numerous to oppose any obstacle or resistance to the measures that Sir Sydney Smith ordered to be taken. He was under more apprehension from the galley slaves : they were in number at least six hundred ; and from some cause were unchained : they manifested such a strong disposition to oppose the operations of the British, that Sir Sydney thought it prudent to point the guns of the Swallow and of one of the gun-boats in such a manner as to enfilade the quay, on which the slaves must have landed from the galleys, if they had actually determined to attack the men under his command. In order, however, that this measure might not further irritate them, he gave them a solemn and strict assurance, that no harm was meant or should be done them, provided they remained quiet spectators of

what was going on. The operations of Sir Sydney Smith in the arsenal were protected and forwarded by those very means, which the enemy intended and expected to have impeded them; for by keeping up a fire of shot and shells from the neighbouring hills, the galley slaves, apprehensive of this fire, were kept still more quiet, and the republican party in the town were afraid to leave their houses: from the union of these two, much inconvenience and delay might have arisen, while by the fire of the enemy, which prevented them from acting, either jointly or separately, little or no interruption was given to preparing and placing combustible matter in the different store-houses, and on board of the ships which were to be destroyed.

Soon after it grew dark, the Vulcan fire-ship was towed in under the direction of Lieutenant Gore; she was placed across the tier of the men of war, in such a manner and position, that she was certain to do most complete and effectual execution, which till every thing was ready, her guns served still further to keep the galley slaves in check and awe. As soon as the signal agreed on was made, for setting fire to the trains, the flames were seen to rise in all directions: the magazine, filled with pitch, tar, tallow, oil, and hemp, was soon in a complete blaze, the fire spread among the deals and other timber, by means of two hundred and fifty barrels of tar, that were placed in different parts among them. The blaze, occasioned by this conflagration, enabled the enemy to take more certain and effectual aim; while the destruction that was going on roused their fury, and caused them to redouble their fire. At first, the mast-house did not catch fire so thoroughly and generally as was expected; in order to extend and increase the flames, Lieutenant Middleton of the *Britannia*, went into the midst of them, exposing himself at the same time to the fire of the enemy; his undaunted bravery, and the danger to which he ex-

posed himself, excited the admiration, while it roused the fears, even of Sir Sidney Smith, who called him off from his perilous post and employment.

The enemy in the mean time were advancing, rending the air with their shouts and republican songs ; but Sir Sidney Smith, with his accustomed judgment and skill, had opposed an obstacle to their progress, in the very means he took to destroy their arsenal and shipping ; for he had placed the fire ships in such a manner, that as their guns went off, a direction was given them towards those quarters from whence he had most reason to apprehend that the enemy would force their way upon him, and check his career. The sublime horror of this scene was soon dreadfully increased, by a sudden and unexpected circumstance, which, for a moment, put a stop both to the operations of the English, and to the advance, and shouts and songs of the republicans. On board of the *Iris* frigate, which lay in the inner road, there were some thousand barrels of gunpowder ; directions had been given to the Spaniards to take these out of the frigate and sink them ; instead of doing this, they had most imprudently and rashly set fire to the frigate with the gunpowder on board ;—by the explosion, the air shook on all sides—masses of burning timber fell in all directions—the British were appalled for the moment, and justly apprehensive that they should all be destroyed by the effects of the explosion—the boat of the *Terrible* was blown to pieces, but the lieutenant and men who were in her, were picked up alive, though dreadfully hurt—one of the gun-boats lay near the *Iris* at the time of the explosion ; the vessel was shaken to pieces, and four men lost their lives.

The Spanish officers who were engaged in this enterprise along with Sir Sidney Smith, had undertaken to set fire to the ships in the Basin before the town ; but they scarcely attempted to perform their task : they soon returned, reporting to Sir Sidney that the

obstacles and difficulties were so very great and numerous, that it was totally impracticable. In fact, the business was much above the pitch of courage, inherent in any but British sailors; none but they could have preserved their coolness, presence of mind, and intrepidity, in the midst of such accumulated horrors and dangers. As soon as Sir Sidney Smith had destroyed the arsenal, he went along with the Spaniards to renew the attempt on the ships in the Basin; but, in the meantime, the enemy had manned the flag-ship, and the wall of the Battery Royale, from which they poured such repeated and well-directed volleys of musketry, that the British commander was reluctantly compelled to abandon the enterprise.

There were still two seventy-four gun ships in the inner road, which it was necessary, if possible, to destroy; an attempt had already been made on them; but it had been given up in consequence of the crews on board them manifesting a determination to resist the English: as soon, however, as the conflagration spread around them, they were apprehensive for their safety, and gladly accepted of Sir Sidney Smith's offer of landing them in a place, where they would be out of all danger, provided they would submit, and make no opposition to the burning of the ships.

The destruction of these two ships had scarcely been effected, when another powder-vessel exploded; and Sir Sidney and his brave companions were a second time exposed to the most imminent danger; around them on all sides the burning timber fell, so that whether they remained where they were, or attempted to escape, they were equally exposed; fortunately, however, not a single piece touched either the Swallow, or any of the gun-boats which accompanied her.

By this time, the strength of the men was so completely exhausted, that they actually dropped on their

oars. Their strength and activity were still, however, necessary, in order to extricate themselves from the situation in which they were: every thing had, indeed, been destroyed, which lay within the compass of their power; but while they had been thus employed, the enemy had occupied the forts, which commanded the passage out of the harbour; from these, had the fire been well supported and directed, they must have suffered very much; but only a few ill-directed shot were fired, so that, without any loss, they reached the place appointed for the embarkation of the troops, and took off as many of them as the vessels could hold.

An occurrence which displayed great coolness and presence of mind, took place in the harbour of Toulon, soon after that town was evacuated by the British. Captain Hood, in the *Juno*, being ignorant of that event, and having on board upwards of one hundred and fifty supernumeraries, who were intended for Lord Hood's fleet, and whom he was anxious to get rid of as soon as possible, ventured, without making the signal for a pilot, to stand in late in the evening, towards the harbour of Toulon: soon after he entered the inner harbour, the ship grounded; when a boat came on board from the shore. Still Captain Hood had no suspicion that the place was in the possession of the enemy, till, by the light of the moon, one of his midshipmen discovered, that the officer who had come in the boat, wore the tri-coloured cockade. The ship was still aground; but every effort was instantaneously made to save her. The Frenchmen were ordered below; in an instant every officer and man was at his duty, and in three minutes, every sail in the ship was set: fortunately, at this most important and critical period, a flaw of wind came down the harbour; the cable was cut; the ship started from the shore; the head-sails filled; and she was soon under way. Still, however, the forts were to be passed; and they were already apprized of what



was going on. As soon as Captain Hood was assured that his ship would keep the way she had got, he ordered the guns to be got ready; as he passed close along shore, the batteries fired on him, but they did no injury; nor did he deem it necessary to return the fire, except against one battery, which he soon silenced. In less than an hour, from the time Captain Hood discovered his mistake, the *Juno* was out of all danger.

Hostile operations soon commenced against the French West India Islands: on the 14th of April, Admiral Sir John Laforey, who commanded on the Leeward Island stations, in conjunction with Major-general Cuyler, and a small body of men, having effected a landing in Great Courland Bay, in the Island of Tobago, summoned the French commandant to surrender. On his refusal, the works were stormed and carried, after a stout resistance: our loss was inconsiderable. About the middle of June, Admiral Gardner, who succeeded Sir John Laforey, along with Major-general Bruce, landed three thousand troops on the island of Martinique; they were encouraged to attempt the conquest of this strong and important island, with this comparatively small force, in consequence of the disputes which existed there between the royalists and the republicans; but the latter party proving much more powerful than the former, as well as much more active and zealous in their hostility, than the others were in their co-operation, it was found necessary, in a very few days, to re-embark the British, not, however, without a considerable loss. The fate of the royalists was still worse; for great numbers of them were unavoidably left behind, in the power of their implacable enemies, as they could not all be taken on board the ships. We were more successful in our attack on the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which fell into our hands without difficulty or loss.

The French were much divided in their political

sentiments in almost all their West India islands: the consequence of this was, a civil war, which raged with great fury, particularly in St. Domingo. The royalists in this valuable island, being very hard pressed by the republican party, applied to the governor of Jamaica for support and assistance. Commodore Ford, therefore, who commanded on this station, in conjunction with Major-general Williamson, sailed from Port Royal on the 20th of October, and landed a small body of troops at Jeremie: the forts in this part of St. Domingo were garrisoned by a battalion of Dillon's regiment, who, being well disposed to the cause of the royalists, immediately struck the republican flag, and hoisted English colours: on the 23d of the same month, Cape Nicholas Mole also surrendered to the British troops, while ten sail of merchantmen, richly laden with colonial produce, lying in Flemande Bay, were captured by the squadron of frigates under the command of Commodore Ford.

In the East Indies, the French settlements met with a similar fate. Early intelligence of the war having been sent thither by Mr. Baldwin, our consul in Egypt, all the small factories belonging to France surrendered, as soon as they were summoned. Pondicherry alone, from its strength, both by nature and art, as well as from the garrison which it contained, offered some resistance; against it Colonel Floyd advanced by land, with a large body of troops, while Admiral Cornwallis blockaded it by sea. Still, however, the conquest might have required a considerable length of time, and been attended with no small difficulty and loss, notwithstanding the arrival of supplies from the Isle of France was effectually prevented by the ships stationed off the harbour, had not disputes between the royalist and republican parties taken place in the garrison, in consequence of which, it was compelled to surrender on the 28th of August.

In the course of the year 1793, there were several actions between our frigates and those of the enemy, in all of which, the intrepidity and skill of British seamen, were eminently conspicuous, and in all, except one instance, they were deservedly rewarded by the most complete and brilliant success. The following are the most worthy of notice and record: Captain Edward Pellew was cruising off the Start, in *La Nymph* of thirty-six guns, and two hundred and twenty men, when, on the 18th of June, he fell in with the French frigate, *La Cleopatra*, of forty guns and three hundred and twenty men; a most severe and well-contested action immediately commenced; it was soon evident that the French seamen had rather gained an accession of courage by the infusion of republican principles, as they fought not only with great bravery, but with more steady resolution than they in general had done before the commencement of the French revolution: but still they were no match for our tars, who, early in the war, had imbibed a most deadly hatred against the French revolution, which had been, if possible, increased, after the scenes of carnage and bloodshed that disgraced the year 1792 and the beginning of 1793. The action continued with unabated fury for fifty-five minutes, when the French frigate, her mizen-mast and tiller having been shot away, and having lost her captain, three of her lieutenants, and nearly one hundred of her people, fell on board *La Nymph*, Captain Pellew, immediately determined to take advantage of this circumstance; he gave orders to board the enemy: this was executed with the greatest promptness and bravery from the quarter-deck of *La Nymph*; and the colours of the French frigate hauled down. On board *La Nymph*, twenty-three were killed, and twenty-six wounded.

On the 20th of October, Captain James Saumarez, who commanded the *Crescent* of thirty-six guns and two hundred and sixty men, being on a cruise off

Cape Barfleur, fell in with the French frigate *La Reunion*, mounting the same number of guns as the *Crescent*, but carrying three hundred and twenty men. This action was still more obstinate, and fought with greater fury on the part of the enemy, than that between *La Nympe* and *La Cleopatra*; but in this instance, the French frigate, though fought with more bravery, if possible, was not managed, during the action, with an equal degree of skill. She succeeded, however, in baffling all attempts to conquer her for two hours and twenty minutes, when she struck her colours. The comparative skill with which the respective ships were manœuvred in the course of the engagement, and with which the guns were managed, was clearly seen in the loss which each vessel sustained: on board of *La Reunion*, one hundred and twenty men were either killed or wounded, while the English frigate had not a single man either killed or wounded. As these were the first naval actions that had taken place since the commencement of the war, and as this war was held up and regarded as one in which the interest and character of the British nation, were involved in more than an usual degree, it was thought proper to reward the captains of the British frigates, by conferring on them the honour of knighthood.

The next action which we have to record was not so successful, though the manner in which it was fought by the British deserved as fortunate an issue, as the two former engagements. The *Thames* frigate, mounting thirty-two guns, and having on board two hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain James Cotes, was cruising in the latitude 47 degrees north, and longitude 70 degrees west, when she fell in with the French frigate *L'Uriane*, of thirty-eight guns, and three hundred and twenty men: the battle commenced at half past ten in the morning, and continued with scarcely any intermission till a little after two in the afternoon. Although both

ships were fought with great bravery, yet the French frigate perceived that she was not a match for her opponent; and accordingly, as she had suffered comparatively in a trifling degree in her masts and rigging, while the masts, yards, standing and running rigging of the Thames, were almost entirely cut to pieces, she hauled off, and made all the sail she could set. In vain the captain and crew of the Thames used their utmost endeavours to repair the damage which their ship had sustained, in order to pursue their opponent, and bring her again to action: she was in such a state, both in her masts and rigging, and in her hull, where she had received several shots between wind and water, that Captain Cotes was under the absolute necessity of putting her before the wind. While she was in this condition, and her crew were busily employed in refitting her, in order that she might be able to carry sail, three large ships, carrying English colours, bore down upon the Thames: the former came close under her stern, and as she passed, hauled down the English colours, hoisted those of the French republic, and poured a broadside into the Thames. It would have been madness in Captain Cotes to have entertained any idea of resistance to such a force, in the crippled condition in which his ship was: he, therefore, after consulting with his officers, hailed and informed the French commander that he had surrendered. The enemy's force consisted of the frigate, with which the Thames had been previously engaged; La Carmagnole of forty-two guns, and three hundred and sixty men; and another frigate of thirty-six guns, and three hundred men. The loss of the Thames consisted of ten killed and twenty-four wounded.

But by far the most desperate and bloody action was fought off the coast of America; besides the national feelings in this case, some private animosity existed. Captain Courtenay in the Boston, of thirty-two guns, having received intelligence that the Am-

buscade French frigate, of thirty-eight guns, and three hundred men, was at anchor off Sandy Hook, proceeded thither from the banks of Newfoundland, where he had been cruising. As soon as he arrived off Sandy Hook, he hoisted French colours; the French captain, deceived by the stratagem, sent a boat out, which was detained: this irritated him so much, that he weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, bidding defiance to the English captain. The action continued for upwards of two hours; the French captain seemed to have exerted all his bravery and skill, and his feelings and intentions were as bravely and skilfully seconded by his crew; on the side of the English there was, at least, equal intrepidity and determination. The result was, that both frigates were so much cut to pieces, both in the rigging and hulls, that they could no longer continue the engagement; indeed, it was found absolutely necessary to make all the sail they could carry, in order to arrive, the British at Newfoundland, and the French frigate at New York. In considering such an engagement as this, it ought to be noticed that the Boston was, in point of size and force, unequal to the Ambuscade; but, on the other hand, the tried and acknowledged superiority of British seamen, both in fighting and manœuvring their ships, must be reckoned a full match for some inequality in these respects; while, therefore, looking merely to the comparative strength of the two vessels, the Boston must be acknowledged to have fought well; the same praise must be given to the French frigate, when we reflect that she fought so long, and with such a result, against an English frigate, not very much inferior to her. Captain Courtenay was killed a short time before the battle ceased; the same shot, which deprived him of life, also killed the lieutenant of marines; besides these, eleven men were killed, and 37 wounded.

1794. Parliament met this year on the 21st of January. In the speech from the throne, his Ma-

Majesty congratulated the two houses on the successes which had already attended the British arms, both by sea and land. Of the issue of the contest into which the nation had been forced, no doubt could be entertained; while the enemy depended on an unjust, impolitic, and arbitrary system, in all their operations which enabled them, for a time, to dispose of the lives and properties of the people; our resources were derived from a source both more permanent and more equitable; whether rather the origin and causes of the war were regarded, or the means by which it was carried on, respectively by Great Britain and France, there was every reason to hope that it could not be of long continuance, or of doubtful issue. Still, however, it was necessary to look forward to, and provide for, the possibility of such an event; and above all, the parliament and the nation should be taught not to wish for, or expect a peace, unless it could be obtained on terms, not only honourable, but such as would secure the permanent security of the country, and the tranquillity of all those nations, whom France had either attacked or menaced. His Majesty next took notice of the treaties and conventions into which he had entered with foreign powers; all of whom were animated with the same spirit, and directed towards the same object, *viz.* such a vigorous prosecution of the war, as would effectually and for ever put down the restless and ambitious spirit of France, and restore the blessings of order and peace to Europe. An amendment to the customary address was moved in the House of Lords by the earl of Guilford, imploring his Majesty to seize the earliest opportunity to conclude an honourable peace; or, if the war must be prosecuted, that he would be pleased to commit the direction of affairs to abler hands: this amendment was supported principally by the duke of Norfolk, and the earls of Derby and Lauderdale; but, on a division, there appeared for the amendment twelve, against it ninety-seven. The ori-

ginal address was consequently carried. An amendment to the address in the House of Commons, of the same purport and tendency as that which had been moved in the House of Lords, was proposed by Earl Wycomb, and supported by Colonel Tarleton, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox. The debate on this occasion was particularly distinguished by a very long and able speech from the earl of Mornington (now the marquis of Wellesley) in which he went very much into detail respecting the origin and causes of the war, drew a dreadful picture of the miseries and atrocities of the French, and anticipated with rather too much confidence the ruin of their finances, and the speedy triumph of this country and her allies. On a division, there were, for the address 277 ; against it 59.

The following supplies were granted by Parliament for the sea service this year :—for eighty-five thousand men, including twelve thousand one hundred and fifteen marines, 4,420,000*l.* ; for the ordinary, including half-pay, 558,021*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* ; extraordinaries, 547,310*l.* ; the ordnance supplies were now for the first time granted separately. The total for the navy, exclusive of them, amounted to 5,525,331*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* The total supplies granted for the year were 20,228,119*l.* 6*s.* 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

When Lord Arden on the 27th of January, brought forward his motion for the supply of seamen and marines for the service of the year, Mr. Fox took an opportunity to enquire into the conduct of the war ; the statements he made, and the arguments he advanced on this occasion, so far as they relate to naval events, as well as the replies that were made to them on the part of ministry, we shall briefly notice, previously to entering upon the history of naval transactions. Mr. Dundas, on a former day, had asserted, that the exertions of the navy had never been better conducted, particularly respecting convoys : this, Mr. Fox positively denied ; the Baltic



fleet had all been in danger of being captured, and sixteen or seventeen sail had actually been taken and carried into Norway. Only one ship of war, and that one scarcely fit for sea, had been appointed convoy for the Quebec fleet. The West India fleet had been ready for sea on the 15th of May, but had been detained for want of convoy till the end of August. It was not only in respect to convoys, he contended that the Admiralty had neglected their duty; even those seas, which were more peculiarly our own, had been traversed and ruled over for some time by the enemy. In the British Channel, six French frigates had taken twenty-six sail of very valuable prizes. Mr. Fox concluded by reading a statement of the vessels captured from the 1st of February 1793, to the 1st of February 1794, from which it appeared, that there was a balance of ninety-four ships in favour of the French against all the combined powers.

These assertions and statements of Mr. Fox called up the Chancellor of the Exchequer: with respect to convoys, the capture of part of them was as frequently the consequence of the negligence, or obstinacy of the masters of the merchantmen, as of the inattention or inadequacy of the ships employed to protect them; and Mr. Fox had not made out any case, wherein blame ought to be attributed to the Admiralty on this score. The utmost order, regularity, and promptness would not always prevent some delay in the sailing of a convoy; and Mr. Fox ought to have enquired, whether the delay which he stated and complained of arose from any fault in the Admiralty, or from causes, over which they had no controul, before he made it a specific charge against that board. Mr. Pitt concluded with this general observation, that though in the present war, we had the alliance and assistance of all the maritime powers, and therefore, at first sight, it might appear reasonable to expect, that in no instance, should the French be successful at sea; yet there were two considera-

tions, which would prove that this expectation was ill-founded, and ought not to be indulged or held out to the public: one of these reasons applied to the particular circumstances of the war. Holland, though undoubtedly a naval power, yet was otherwise so much engaged, that we, in fact, were obliged to protect her trade, instead of receiving any assistance from her navy; and Spain hitherto had not made those exertions at sea, which could bring her maritime force to bear with much effect against the common foe; but it might generally be observed, that the very nature of maritime warfare, absolutely prevented regular and continual success: a nation, with only a few frigates, opposed to a nation with a marine even much greater, and better equipped in every respect (if that were possible) than the British, still would have opportunities of obtaining partial and temporary successes.

During the debate which took place on the first reading of the report of the committee of supply, Mr. Sheridan adverted in very strong terms to the defenceless state, in a naval as well as a military point of view, in which Halifax and Nova Scotia had been left in the preceding year. His statements were controverted in the most direct and unequivocal manner by Mr. Dundas and Admiral Gardener; he therefore made a formal and regular motion on the 21st of February, for all papers which could throw light on the state of defence, particularly in a naval point of view, in which Halifax and Nova Scotia had been during 1793. In support of this motion, he maintained and offered to prove, if the papers were laid before the house, among other instances of negligence and remissness on the part, either of the Admiralty or of the naval commander on that station, that the naval defence of these colonies had been greater at the peace of 1763, and again at the peace in 1783, than it was during the year 1793. At the last-mentioned period, only one sloop of war was stationed on that

quarter; that Halifax was in a very defenceless state, though it was well known, that if it were not made and kept a safe place of refuge for our ships, during the hurricane season, we could not remain masters of those seas; and if we were not masters of those seas, we could not long retain our West India possessions.

With respect to the naval defence of Halifax and Nova Scotia, even some months after the war commenced, Admiral Gardener left those seas, in order to convoy a fleet to Europe, thus exposing them to the unmolested naval force of the French. Instead of doing this, he ought to have sent part of his fleet to Halifax, where, if his information had been as early and accurate, as it ought to have been, he would have known that the French had appeared. Had he taken this step, he would have been able to protect that coast, and there would have been no necessity to have dispatched Sir John Jervis on that service. His information respecting the motions and destination of the French fleet must have been very imperfect indeed, since soon after their arrival on the coast of America, they avowedly sailed for Halifax. The consequences were such as might have been anticipated from such extreme negligence and inattention. Mr. Sheridan enumerated the captures the enemy had made, and proved from the Halifax newspapers the public notoriety of the danger to which that colony was exposed from the want of an adequate force to protect it. In fact, all the stores and ammunition which were collected and deposited at Halifax, would have fallen an easy prey into the hands of the French, had not a mutiny broken out in their fleet. This circumstance, on which we had no reason to rely, and not our activity or adequate preparations of defence, saved us from this great and severe loss.

Mr. Dundas replied to Mr. Sheridan;—he opposed the production of the papers moved for, but assured the house, that if produced, so far from establishing or supporting the statements of that gentleman, they

would prove that they were utterly destitute of foundation. Every thing had been done, both by ministers and by Admiral Gardener, for the protection of the colony and of the shipping on that station. Although he opposed the formal production of the papers moved for, yet, in order to abridge, if not to set at rest completely, the discussion, he was ready to submit to the inspection of the gentlemen on the opposite side, the correspondence of the governor of Halifax, which would completely bear him out in all he had advanced in reply to the statements of Mr. Sheridan. After some further debate, Mr. Sheridan, in reply, rested the truth of his assertions, and the justice of his charges, on one indisputed and notorious fact, that many persons had actually removed their effects from Halifax; and that in London, the insurance upon property there was twelve and fifteen *per cent.* and afterwards could not be effected at all. The real state of the case seems to have been, that no adequate naval force was stationed off the coast of Halifax, so soon after the commencement of the war, as it might and ought to have been; but that the alarm, which Mr. Sheridan stated to have existed there, was the effect more of exaggerated and unfounded rumours of danger, than of actual or impending danger.

Hitherto France, though she had sent out several squadrons of frigates, and swarms of privateers, by which our trade had suffered very severely in different parts of the world, had not ventured to send to sea any numerous or powerful fleet; and probably, if it had not been from the pressure of peculiar circumstances, she still would have adhered to that plan of injuring Britain on the ocean. In the month of May, ninety-nine ships were taken by the French, while the English had made prize only of one, a frigate of thirty-eight guns: of the prizes taken by the French, ten were outward bound, and four homeward bound West India ships, and one, the Lisbon packet,

having a very considerable sum of money on board.

As it was known that the French, soon after the commencement of hostilities, had ready for sea a very large and well equipped fleet, Earl Howe sailed from Spithead, in order to watch their motions, in the month of July 1793: his force at first consisted only of fifteen sail of the line, but in October, it was augmented to twenty-four sail of the line: with these he cruised in the channel, but though he twice discovered a small squadron of the enemy he was not able, either time to bring them to action.

The circumstance which induced, or to speak more correctly, compelled the French government to depart from the system of naval hostilities, which they had hitherto pursued, not only in safety to themselves, but with so much injury to our commerce was, the extreme scarcity of grain in the kingdom; to relieve this scarcity, a great number of vessels had been sent to America: and these, together with a large fleet of merchantmen, conveying home the principal produce of their West India Islands, were daily expected off the coast of France. Orders were therefore given that the Brest fleet should proceed to sea: it consisted of twenty-six sail of the line, and was commanded by Rear-admiral Villaret. The French government, among other modes of inspiring courage into the minds of their soldiers, had, for some time, employed in their armies representatives of the people; who at the same time that they inspirited the men, watched over the actions of the generals: the same plan they resolved to adopt in their fleets: and accordingly Jean Bon St. Andre, a representative of the people, was sent down to Brest, to infuse democratical principles into the breasts of the seamen, and afterwards embarked on board *La Montagne*, the admiral's flag-ship.

Admiral Howe had gained information of the expected convoy: and knowing how important its protection and safe arrival would be to France, he natu-

rally concluded that the Brest fleet would be ordered out for that purpose. He, therefore, put to sea early in the month of May; his force consisted of twenty-six sail of the line, but he expected to be joined by Admiral Montague, who was cruising in the Channel: in this, however, he was disappointed, as he did not deem it proper to wait for them, having, on the 21st of the month, received certain intelligence, that the French were but a few leagues to the westward. Towards this point he therefore directed his course, and on the 28th the enemy were descried, at a great distance, on the weather bow of the English admiral. It appeared at first, from the loose and unconnected order, in which the French were sailing, that they were by no means apprized of the vicinity of the British fleet. As soon as they descried them, they hauled their wind, and began to form in regular order of battle: this, however, they did not completely effect till after several hours. Admiral Howe took advantage of this delay, to place one division of his fleet, commanded by Rear-admiral Pasley, in such a situation that it could manœuvre and act with effect on the rear of the French, while the whole English fleet was gradually making a nearer approach to the enemy.

At this time there was a strong south-west wind, which occasioned a rough sea: the French possessed and continued to retain the weather-gage; their line of battle being formed on the starboard tack. Very soon after, Admiral Howe brought them to battle; one of the French ships, *Le Revolutionnaire*, of one hundred and ten guns, slackened her sails; and Admiral Pasley, taking advantage of this circumstance, led on his division and attacked this vessel. The French fought this ship with uncommon bravery: in the conflict, the British rear-admiral had his top-mast disabled; this being perceived, the *Leviathan* pushed forward and joined in the attack, in which she was supported by the *Audacious*. Notwithstanding this

great superiority of force, the Revolutionaire still defended herself; her captain was killed early in the engagement. According to the English accounts, she at last struck her colours to the Audacious: this the French accounts of the battle positively deny. Night put an end to the conflict; and on the subsequent morning, the Revolutionaire, a complete wreck, was towed into Rochefort.

The hostile fleets lay to in sight of each other during the whole night. On the morning of the 29th, Lord Howe threw out the signal for tacking, in order to endeavour to make a further impression on the rear of the enemy; they, however, aware of the effect of this manœuvre, immediately wore from van to rear, and moved down slowly in a slaunting direction, in order to engage the van of the British fleet. When Lord Howe perceived this, he changed his plan, and made the signal to cross and pass through the enemy's line: this would have been done immediately and most effectually, had not the Cæsar fallen to leeward, by which circumstance it was rendered necessary to tack the Queen Charlotte, Admiral Howe's own ship. As soon as she had tacked, being supported by the Bellerophon and Leviathan, she broke through the enemy's line between the fifth and sixth ships in the rear division. As soon as Lord Howe had reached this position, he again put about, in which manœuvre he was followed by the two ships who had also broken the line; but as the rest of the British fleet were still a considerable distance to leeward beyond the sternmost ships of the French line, the latter wore in succession to the eastward, for the purpose of succouring their disabled vessels: as soon as they had accomplished this, they again wore round, standing away from the British in order of battle on the larboard tack, while our fleet followed them in the same order.

Thus terminated the second day's engagement, which was equally partial and indecisive with that

which took place on the 28th: one very important advantage, however, resulted from the manœuvres which preceded and accompanied it, to the British: they gained the weather-gage of the enemy, and of course had it now in their power to force on a more general and regular battle whenever they thought fit. This could not be done during the two last days of May, owing to a thick fog which almost concealed the hostile squadrons from each other, though they were but a few miles distant: during the continuance of this fog, the French sent away three of their most crippled ships, receiving at the same time a reinforcement of an equal number. The enemy's fleet, therefore still consisted of twenty-six sail of the line, four of which, however, were not in good condition either for sailing or fighting, having been out on a long cruise under Rear-admiral Neuilly: the English fleet, which at first consisted of the same number of ships of the line, was now reduced to twenty-five: the Audacious having, during her engagement with the Revolutionaire on the 28th, suffered so severely, that it was judged necessary to send her back to England.

The fog cleared up on the 1st of June; and Earl Howe found that the enemy were waiting the attack: he determined therefore to bring them immediately to close action. Soon after breakfast he threw out the signal for that purpose. His object was again to break the French line; and this was effectually done in several parts; as soon as the British ships had succeeded in this, the enemy were attacked to leeward and to windward at the same time. Lord Howe ordered the Queen Charlotte to be laid close along-side the French commander-in-chief; this was done in a most masterly style by his master Bowen; and a most dreadful cannonade commenced. The French admiral remained firm, returning the fire of the Queen Charlotte, though not with much effect, for nearly an hour; when he crowded all the sail he



could carry, and made off, followed by such of the ships in his van as were in a condition to carry sail; leaving the remainder which were disabled and dismasted at the mercy of the British. When the smoke cleared away, seven of these were taken possession of: *Le Vengeur*, a seventy-four gun ship went down during the action. Most of the British fleet were so much crippled that they were in no condition to pursue the beaten and flying enemy, otherwise a far greater number must have fallen into our possession. The killed on board of the enemy's ships which were taken amounted to six hundred and ninety men; five hundred and eighty were wounded; and it was computed that three hundred and twenty perished in *Le Vengeur*. On board of *La Montagne* alone, nearly three hundred men were killed and wounded. The return on board of the English fleet was two hundred and eighty-one killed, and seven hundred and eighty-eight wounded. In consequence of the crippled state of many of his ships, Lord Howe, immediately after the battle, returned to port along with his prizes. The French were in some measure consoled for their defeat, by the safe arrival of their American convoy, amounting to one hundred and sixty sail, and valued at five millions sterling.

As soon as the news of the action of the 1st of June reached England, Rear-admiral Montague was ordered to sea, with the hopes of his being able to pick up some of the disabled ships of the enemy: he did, indeed, discover some of them in tow, but they were so near their own ports, that he was unable to come up with them. Every mark of distinction and honour was bestowed on Lord Howe, his officers, and men: gold medals, emblematical of the victory, were struck, and bestowed on such officers as the admiral had particularly named in his public dispatches. The thanks of both houses of parliament were unanimously voted to the admiral, officers, and men. On the 26th of June, their Majesties arrived

at Portsmouth, and went on board the *Queen Charlotte*, which was lying at Spithead, when the king presented Earl Howe with a diamond-hilted sword, valued at three thousand guineas; and a gold chain with a medal suspended from it.

Nor were the wounded officers and seamen, or the widows and children of those who had fallen, neglected, in the midst of these rewards bestowed on Lord Howe and his brave companions; a subscription was opened, and it was liberally supplied. The city of London gave 500*l*.; the corporation of the Trinity House, 200 guineas: and the latter at the same time resolved, that such widows as had families, should be admitted to the monthly pension, in preference to all other claimants.

In the Mediterranean, Lord Hood, after leaving Toulon, cruised for some time off the Bay of Hieres; but receiving information that the royalist party in the island of Corsica had revolted against the republican government, and only waited for the presence and assistance of the English to deliver the island into their hands, he proceeded thither in the month of February. The tower of Martillo was first attacked; this surrendered after a slight and short resistance. The efforts of the English were next directed against the tower of Tornelli, which was abandoned by the republicans on the 17th of February. That they abandoned it, though strong both by nature and art, is justly attributed to a daring enterprise of a few British seamen, in the planning and execution of which they displayed, in a most conspicuous light, the distinguishing features of their character. There was only one point which commanded this tower; this was a rocky elevation, which, being deemed inaccessible, had not been fortified or occupied by the enemy. The approach to it was almost perpendicular: and when the top was gained, it was necessary to creep along a narrow path, which would admit in most places, only one person at a time: on the

right of this path, the descent was perpendicular for many thousand feet; and on the left were stupendous rocks, which overhung it: these difficulties, however, did not discourage the British seamen: they succeeded after great labour and fatigue, in dragging up this rock three eighteen pounders, with their carriages, occasionally fixing the tackle which they used for this purpose, to the overhanging rocks. As soon as the cannon were planted on the eminence, the enemy, astonished and confounded at the execution of an enterprise, of the practicability of which they did not even venture to entertain an idea, abandoned the tower.

The republican party having also evacuated St. Fiorenza, retreated to Bastia, whither they were followed by Lord Hood; the fortifications of this place were in a very bad state; notwithstanding this the commandant, Gentile, resisted the attacks of the British with great resolution and bravery, from the 11th of April, to the 22d of May; when honourable terms having been offered to him, the garrison marched out with the honours of war, and Bastia was surrendered to his Britannic Majesty. No part of the island now remained in possession of the republicans, but the tower of Calvi, which held out till the 10th of August, when it surrendered on terms of capitulation, after a gallant defence of fifty-one days. In the attack on Bastia and Calvi, Captain Nelson was conspicuous for his intrepidity and usefulness: while he was directing and superintending the landing of the guns, mortars, and stores, at the former place, he was severely wounded in the head and lost an eye.

On the Leeward Island station, Sir John Jervis, in conjunction with Sir Charles Grey, sailed early in February, with part of the fleet, and a large body of troops from Carlisle Bay in Barbadoes, to the attack of Martinique. In little more than a month, the whole of this important and valuable island, except Forts Bourbon and Royal, was in our possession.

The latter it was resolved to attempt to take by assault, in which the navy was to co-operate with the army. According to the arrangements made, the *Asia* and *Zebra* entered the carenage, where they battered the Fort, and at the same time covered and protected the boats, which were under the command of Commodore Thompson : a detachment of the army advancing on the land side. This plan, which was carried into effect on the 20th, was attended with complete success ; Captain Faulkener, of the *Zebra*, displaying a most surprising degree of cool intrepidity on this occasion. The *Asia* was prevented at first, from reaching her destined situation, while the *Zebra* was exposed, waiting for her co-operation, to a constant shower of grape-shot. Under these circumstances, Captain Faulkener determined not to wait for the *Asia*, but to undertake the service alone : he, therefore, ran the *Zebra* close to the wall of the fort ; as soon as he arrived there, he leapt overboard, followed by the whole of his crew, and actually succeeded in taking this important fort, before the boats under Commodore Thompson could reach the shore. As soon as M. Rochambeau, who commanded in Fort Bourbon, perceived that Fort Royal was in possession of the British, he surrendered on capitulation.

No time was lost, after the conquest of Martinique, in proceeding against St. Lucia ; here also the naval force was of great service, and displayed its wonted bravery, particularly in effecting and protecting the landing of the troops, On the 4th of March, the whole island surrendered, without costing the conquerors the life of a single man. Guadalupe was next attacked and reduced in a very short time ; the Fort Fleur D'Épee offering the only resistance, this was taken by assault ; on which service, a battalion of seamen, headed and commanded by Captains Faulkener and Nugent, greatly distinguished themselves. The loss of the enemy amounted to sixty-seven killed, fifty-five wounded, and one

hundred and ten prisoners : of the seamen who were employed, none were killed, but two midshipmen and eleven men were wounded.

Our success in the West Indies was not of long duration ; the French government dispatched thither a small armament, having on board about one thousand five hundred troops ; along with them came Victor Hughes, a man of a bold and desperate character, invested with uncontrouled authority, by the national convention, and bringing with him a decree which they had passed, conferring liberty on all the slaves in the French colonies. He first landed in Guadaloupe, where, having hoisted the cap of liberty as a standard, and being joined by the slaves, he took Point a Petre by storm, and made himself master of the whole of that part of the island, called Grand Terre. As soon as Sir John Jervis and General Grey were informed of this circumstance, they hastened to the relief of Guadaloupe ; but they were compelled to abandon the enterprise, Victor Hughes having contrived to arm nearly the whole population of the island against the British. Soon after they retired, this singular and enterprising man not only obtained possession of the remainder of Guadaloupe, but recaptured with little difficulty and loss, the island of St. Lucia.

On the Jamaica station, Commodore Ford lent a cheerful and effectual assistance to Lieutenant-colonel White Locke, in furthering the conquest of the French part of the island of St. Domingo : by their conjoint operations, the parishes of Jean Rabel, St. Marc, &c. were compelled to surrender. Port-au-Prince was next attacked, and after some resistance, being abandoned by the enemy, it was taken possession of by the British : in the harbour were found a great many vessels laden with very valuable cargoes. The strong post of Cape Tiberon, which surrendered on the 3d of February, was abandoned on the 29th of December, in consequence of the enemy having

erected a strong battery on a height which completely commanded it.

We must now advert to such actions between squadrons of frigates, or single ships, as occurred this year most worthy of notice, for the manner in which they were fought, or the consequences which resulted from them.

Sir John Borlase Warren was appointed to the command of a squadron of frigates, consisting of the *Flora*, of thirty-six guns and two hundred and sixty men; on board of which his broad pendant was hoisted; the *Arethusa*, of thirty-eight guns, and two hundred and eighty men, Sir Edward Pellew: the *Melampus*, of thirty-six guns, two hundred and sixty men; Captain Thomas Wells; *La Nymph*, thirty-six guns, two hundred and sixty men, Captain George Murray; and *La Concorde*, thirty-six guns, two hundred and sixty men, Captain Sir J. R. Strachan. His orders were, to cruise off the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey; or in the neighbouring part of the British Channel. On the 23d of April, while cruising off the former island, early in the morning, five sail of large ships were seen; as soon as it was sufficiently light to distinguish their make, rigging and manœuvres, it was ascertained that it was an enemy's squadron. They consisted of *La Pomone*, forty-four guns, heavy metal, and four hundred men; *L'Engageante*, thirty-six guns, and three hundred men; on board of whom was the pendant of M. Desgareux, *chef d'escadre*: *La Resolue*, of the same number of guns and men; and *La Babet*, of twenty-two guns, and two hundred men. As soon as the enemy perceived Sir John Warren's squadron, they formed their line of battle on the larboard tack; while the English line was formed on the opposite tack: in this relative position, the two fleets crossed each other, and as they crossed, the engagement commenced; their distance, however, was so great that the cannonade took little effect, and the French did not seem

disposed to approach nearer. Sir J. Warren was very anxious to gain the weather-gage: and his manœuvres for this purpose were fortunately seconded and rendered effectual, by the circumstance of the wind changing a few points: which enabled him, not only to weather the enemy, but also to bring them to close action, placing his squadron between them and the French coast. For three hours the enemy fought with great steadiness and bravery; at the end of that time, *La Pomone* and *La Babet* struck their colours to the *Flora* and *Arethusa*: while the others attempted to escape. They were pursued by the *Melampus*, *La Nymph*, and *La Concorde*. Sir Richard Strachan in the last, having come up with them, endeavoured to disable the sternmost, intending, if he accomplished this, to leave her to be taken possession of by his comrades, and to push on against the other. His intention was perceived by the other French frigate, which was ahead, and she immediately put about and bore down to the assistance of her consort. Sir Richard Strachan had thus to sustain and return the fire of both the frigates, as the other pursuing ships had not yet come up. He continued, therefore, the battle with great resolution, but perceiving that the *Melampus* and *La Nymph* did not make way ahead, and that he must either give up the contest, or finish it by some bold and masterly manœuvre, his ship having suffered considerably, especially in her rigging, he took the opportunity of the thick smoke, in which *La Concorde* was involved, to slip out from between the two French ships, and to place his vessel in such a situation, that while he attacked one of them, the other could neither annoy him, nor assist her comrade. Under these circumstances, the battle continued for nearly two hours longer, when the enemy slackened her fire, and soon afterwards struck her colours: she was *L'Engageante*. The remaining frigate got clear off.

On the same station, in the month of June, Sir

James Saumarez and his crew had an opportunity of displaying the wonderful adroitness and skill in manœuvring and managing a ship, which equally with coolness and bravery of soul, distinguishes British seamen. He was cruising off Jersey in the *Crescent*, of thirty-six guns, in company with the *Druid*, of thirty-two, and the *Eurydice*, of twenty, when, about half way between that island and the coast of France, a squadron of French ships of war, consisting of two fifty-four gun ships; two frigates of thirty-six guns, and a brig gave chase to him. As the superiority of the enemy was much too great to be opposed with the smallest prospect of success or even safety, Sir James Saumarez's sole object was to get away from them. He perfectly well knew that the *Crescent* and *Druid* could outsail the French squadron; but the *Eurydice* was neither in good condition, nor at any rate a fast sailer: her, therefore, he ordered to push on for Guernsey; while the other two vessels, under very easy sail followed her. The enemy perceiving that they gained on these, entertained great hopes of being able to overtake and capture them: but the British commander, as soon as he perceived that the *Eurydice* was sufficiently far ahead to be out of all danger, ordered the other two frigates to crowd all the sail they could carry. The French fleet, on their part, were not deficient in skill or activity of manœuvring; and they had succeeded so far in getting between the shore and the *Eurydice* and *Druid*, that there was some apprehension entertained, that one of these vessels at least, would be cut off. To save his comrades, Sir James Saumarez resolved on a plan which, in the first part of its execution, required great courage; and in the latter part, consummate knowledge of the Channel, and great skill in the management of the ship. He hauled his wind and stood close along the line of the French squadron: this naturally drew off their attention and their hopes from the other two frigates, and the capture of the *Cres-*



cent seemed certain, and instant. As soon, however, as Sir James Saumarez perceived that he had completely succeeded in his object of securing the escape of the *Druid* and the *Eurydice*, he ordered his pilot, who was very experienced in the navigation of the coasts of Guernsey, to push the *Crescent* through an intricate passage, which had never before been attempted by any ship of her size and draught of water; by this bold and successful enterprise, she escaped into the road, to the astonishment and disappointment of the enemy.

This year, like the last, witnessed the capture of an English ship of war: but under no circumstances that were dishonourable to our seamen, or which afforded matter of just triumph to the enemy. On their return from the Mediterranean, the *Alexander*, Captain Bligh, and the *Canada*, Captain Hamilton, each ship mounting seventy-four guns, fell in with a French squadron, consisting of five seventy-four gun ships, three frigates of large dimensions and heavy mettle, and a brig, under the command of Rear-admiral Neuilly. Three of the line of battle ships and a frigate chased the *Alexander*, while the others went in pursuit of the *Canada*; the last ship sailing better than her comrade, soon past her, and stood more to the northward; she was, however, still pursued, and at nine o'clock in the morning, the enemy were nearly close up with her. Captain Bligh, perceiving this, and being convinced that the only chance of opposing with success such a superior force was, by the two ships supporting each other, made the signal for the *Canada* to close and form ahead. This signal, Captain Hamilton instantly endeavoured to obey; but while he was manœuvring to put it into execution, the enemy's ships neared him so closely, that he perceived if he attempted to join the *Alexander*, his ship would be cut off; he had, therefore, no alternative, but to continue his course, and leave Captain Bligh to his fate.

For nearly two hours after this, the *Alexander* continued to keep so far ahead of her pursuers, that only a running fight could be maintained: about eleven o'clock, however, they came alongside, and brought her to close action; the *Alexander* was fought with great bravery and determination for two hours: by this time, she was a complete wreck: her masts being so much injured, that they were expected every moment to fall overboard; while forty of her crew were either killed or wounded. To add to these unfortunate and desperate circumstances, the enemy's ships, which had hitherto pursued the *Canada*, perceiving that there was no probability of coming up with her had altered their course, and stood towards the *Alexander*. Captain Bligh, therefore, supported by the unanimous opinion of his officers, was under the disagreeable necessity of surrendering his ship.

In the East Indies, the naval transactions this year were very few, and in general very unimportant: one, however, deserves to be noticed. The Island of Mauritius, during most wars between this country and France, has been employed by the enemy as a rendezvous for their ships of war, and for the prizes in the Indian Seas, which they chance to capture. It has always, therefore, been customary for the British admiral on that station, to send some ships to cruize off that island. In the month of October, the *Centurion*, of fifty guns, and three hundred men, commanded by Captain Samuel Osborne, and the *Diomedé*, of forty-four guns, and two hundred men, commanded by Captain Matthew Smith, were stationed off the Mauritius: while on this cruize they discovered a squadron of the enemy's vessels, consisting of *La Sybille*, of forty guns, and four hundred men: *La Prudente*, of thirty-six guns, and three hundred men; a sloop of war of twenty-six guns, and a brig of twelve. At first, the French seemed disposed to support a close and continued engagement; but at the end of an hour's fighting, the commodore

made sail, and was followed by the sloop of war, and the brig; the largest vessel, *La Sybille*, also attempted to get off; but this she could not effect, owing to her being far to leeward, and a falling off of the wind, occasioned by the heavy fire; which circumstance, in these latitudes, is by no means uncommon. Unfortunately, however, the British ships were not in a condition to take advantage of the situation of *La Sybille*; the fire of the enemy had been directed so generally, and with such effect against the *Centurion*, that her masts, sails, and rigging, were entirely useless, and she lay like a log on the water. The *Diomedé*, though not nearly so much crippled, did not think it prudent either to leave the *Centurion*, or to go in pursuit of the damaged enemy: as the other French vessels, perceiving the condition of their comrade, and the disabled state of the *Centurion*, had borne down and taken her in tow. The enemy made for Port Louis, in the Island of Mauritius; but *La Sybille* was such a complete wreck, that, in order to prevent her from going down, they were obliged to run her on shore.

1795 In the speech delivered by his Majesty, at the opening of parliament, on the 13th day of December, 1794, the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and the striking and rapid decline of the resources of France were principally and most strongly insisted upon. It was acknowledged at the same time, that she had extended her conquests; Holland, as well as the Netherlands, was entirely under her dominion and control; and the former country ought, therefore, to be regarded as in fact the enemy of Great Britain: for this new war it would be necessary to provide adequate and ample means. Under the present circumstances of France and Europe, it was foolish to expect, and it would be dishonourable and unsafe to make peace. Nothing remained therefore, but a vigorous prosecution of the war; and his Majesty would take care that such measures should

be concerted with his allies on the continent, as would infuse into their conjoint operations unanimity and vigour. By resolution and perseverance alone, security could be obtained at home, and Europe delivered from the dangers to which it was exposed.

The address was opposed in the House of Lords by the earl of Guilford: he insisted principally on the disasters that had already been produced, both in this country and on the continent, from the war with France; commercial distress, an immense increase of taxes, and still further demands for money, had resulted from the war in Great Britain; the subjugation of some of the most valuable and fruitful parts of Europe, were the consequences on the continent; nor were our prospects more cheering; the resources of France, on the failure of which, so much reliance had been placed, being founded on her power, and extended by her conquests, were much more likely to prosper than to decline. Peace, therefore, if it could be obtained, was the object which our government ought to pursue; nor did he perceive that the obstacles to it, however great and formidable, were insurmountable. Our alliances with different powers on the continent, were held up, as if they stood in the way of that most desirable event; but he supposed that the terms of those alliances were conditional and reciprocal; they certainly could not tie us more strictly down, than they tied the powers on the continent. Were we bound by our alliance to the king of Prussia, after he had applied the subsidy that we had granted him for the purpose of prosecuting the war against France, to the dismemberment and subjugation of Poland? After dwelling at some length on these and similar topics, his lordship concluded, by moving an amendment to the address, recommending peace. The amendment was supported by the earl of Derby, the marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Stanhope, the duke of Bedford, and several other members of the opposition; while the original

address, and the impracticability of making an honourable or safe peace, were maintained by Earl Spencer, and Lord Grenville; the latter, however, who concluded the debate, expressly declared that notwithstanding the insinuations which had been thrown out, that the royal speech implied that no peace could be made with France, while it continued a republic, such a construction was erroneous, and was not warranted by any part of it. The amendment of the earl of Guilford was rejected by one hundred and seven votes against twelve.

In the House of Commons, the address was objected to by Mr. Wilberforce; he did not give it as his decided opinion, that peace could be made; but he thought that an attempt should be made to open a negotiation. If it failed through the ambition of the enemy, the people of this country would then bear all the hardships and taxes, to which in the further prosecution of the war they might be exposed, with more patience and fortitude. He could not, however, help entertaining hopes that France was become moderate and rational: the fury and madness of Jacobinism were gone by, and the government which now existed there, had assumed, if they did not actually feel, a peaceable disposition, while the general sense of the people was in favour of a termination of the war. Mr. Wilberforce concluded by moving, that a negotiation for peace, whether successful or not, would prove to the nation that the government deserved it. This motion was principally supported by Mr. Fox, and opposed by Mr. Windham, and Mr. Pitt, who, while they gave it as their firm and decided opinion, that, even if a peace could be made, it would neither be honourable, safe, nor lasting; denied, as Lord Grenville had done in the House of Lords, that his Majesty's speech pledged the parliament or the nation to a continuance of the war, till France ceased to be a republic. The debate continued till four o'clock in the morning, when on a divi-

sion, there appeared to be seventy-three for the amendment, and two hundred and forty-six against it.

The following supplies were granted for the sea-service this year; for one hundred thousand seamen, including fifteen thousand marines; 5,200,000*l.* Ordinary, including half pay, 589,683*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* Extraordinaries, 525,840*l.* Total for the sea-service, exclusive of ordnance, 6,315,523*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* The total supplies granted for the year amounted to 29,307,265*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.*

When Admiral Gardner, on the 7th of January, made a motion for an augmentation in the number of seamen and marines, an interesting and rather novel debate took place; Mr. Robinson contended, that our ships of war were inferior in their construction to those of the French; that, in consequence of this, they did not sail nearly so well. Captain Berkley did not deny that they were better built; but in point of fast sailing, our ships at least equalled those of the enemy. It was well known, and must be acknowledged, he observed, that in the theory of marine architecture, the French had made much greater progress than the English: that they had applied to it more scientific principles and a greater compass as well as profundity of mathematical knowledge; it must also be allowed, that the models on which they built their ships of war, were more perfect than ours; but in the mechanical part, in the actual construction, we had the superiority. Admiral Gardner went even further than Captain Berkley: he even admitted that the French ships of war sailed better than ours did; their superior construction he ascribed to the premiums given by the government to the best models, which were regularly submitted to the examination and decision of the academy of sciences. Although we had not made such advances in the theory of marine architecture, as the French, yet we had very much improved in the building of our own, by taking as our models those which we had captured from them.

In the course of this discussion, it was further remarked by Mr. Lambton, that the French government sent models of the various parts and timbers necessary for the construction of ships of the line, to the several provinces, where wood, proper for those purposes, could be obtained. In these provinces, the labouring people received plain and easy directions respecting the manner in which they were to cut down and prepare the trees, selected for ship-building: these were conveyed in the rough to the dock-yards, where they were completed by the shipwrights, and put together with all possible dispatch.

From these curious and scientific discussions, Mr. Fox struck off to one of his usual topics; he thought it was neither creditable to the ministry, nor the Admiralty, that the French should be so much before us in the construction of their ships of war. We were, and had long been a naval nation; our safety depended on our marine; our honour, glory, and success in war, resulted principally from our superiority at sea. Yet not only were we inferior to our enemies, a nation, not nearly so maritime, or commercial as ourselves, in the construction of our ships of war, but considering how much more numerous our navy was, the achievements we had performed on the ocean, had not been adequate to the expectations which the nation had a right to form. By a very mistaken and blind system of policy, we had latterly weakened our navy by the means we used to increase our land-forces: the bounties which had been given to recruit the army, had drawn off numbers of able men from the navy. In reply to these observations of Mr. Fox, Mr. Dundas contended, that since the commencement of the war, our naval efforts as well as our naval successes, had been much greater than ever were known before. When the war began, the number of seamen was only sixteen thousand; now it was no less than ninety-five thousand. The force which we could put to sea, or more properly

speaking which we had at sea, was double that which the enemy could employ; if to this were added, that in every engagement, the superior skill and bravery of our seamen displayed themselves in the victories they gained over the enemy, he thought it was comparatively of little moment, that in the theory of marine architecture, and in the models and construction of their ships of war, they had advanced before us. Mr. Sheridan, however, did not let this last remark of Mr. Dundas pass unnoticed; he very properly and justly remarked on the difficulty of our taking vessels so much more advantageously constructed than ours: and contended, that because the skill and intrepidity of British seamen were superior to those qualities in the French, it was, therefore, only the more desirable, that our vessels of war should be constructed in such a manner, that by being better sailers than those of the enemy, our men might have more frequent opportunities of displaying and proving their superior bravery and skill. In reply to some strictures on the Admiralty, which were thrown out in the course of this debate, Admiral Gardner observed that during the last year, applications had been made for one hundred and eight convoys, which had been accordingly granted: and that this service had employed one hundred and forty ships, exclusively of sixteen constantly cruising on the coast, for the protection of the trade.

As the number of men to be raised this year for the service of the navy, was so much greater than usual, it became necessary to adopt some mode by which they could be obtained, independently of the modes of impressing, and of enlisting with bounties. Accordingly on the 5th of March, an act of parliament was passed, for raising a certain number of men in the different counties of England, for the service of the navy, proportioned to the population of each county:—the smallest number was 23 in the county of Rutland; the greatest number was 1081 in York-



shire; the total number to be raised by this method was 9764. In case any county failed in raising its respective quota, a sum was to be paid for each man, in which it was deficient. As it soon appeared that even this additional and new method of supplying the navy, would not suffice, another act of parliament was passed on the 16th of April, for procuring a supply of men to be raised from the several ports of Great Britain; and in order that this supply might be obtained in an effectual manner, and with as little delay, as possible, an embargo was laid on all British shipping, until the quota of men was raised. Great pains were taken to ascertain and fix the number of men, which each sea port should raise; and in order to do this accurately and fairly, it was necessary to procure a full and complete account of the seamen belonging to each port. The last that was made out on this occasion, is, therefore, a curious and important document; illustrating the commerce and the maritime force of great Britain; for this reason, we shall give the quotas, which were fixed for some of the principal sea ports in Great Britain, London of course stood highest, the number of men it was to supply, amounted to 5704. Liverpool came next; its number was 1711. The port of Newcastle stood third on the list, its number amounted to 1240. One general fact was ascertained from this list; the ports on the east coast of England supplied many more men, than might have been expected; Hull, Sunderland, Whitby, and Yarmouth, standing high on the list. The importance of the coal trade also, in a naval point of view, was conspicuous; since a great number of seamen were supplied from those ports, which lay in the neighbourhood of the coal mines, both on the east and west of England; Newcastle, Sunderland, and Whitby, have been already noticed: on the west of England, Whitehaven supplied 700 men, whereas Bristol, formerly the greatest sea-port, next to London, supplied only 666. The ports on the

Clyde, viz. Glasgow, Greenock, and Port Glasgow supplied fewer than might have been expected, the whole number from these amounting only to 683. The total number was 20,354. In the course of this year, two very great improvements took place in the mode of communicating intelligence; the first, which was adopted early in the spring was, the establishment and erection of signal towers, all along the coast; to each of which, a lieutenant, one midshipman, and two seamen, were appointed. The other method was much more important; and though it had been practiced for some time by the French, yet it was adopted on a larger scale, and on a more simple, as well as perfect plan in this country. Towards the latter end of 1794, "Lord George Murray, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, proposed to the board of Admiralty, a plan for the more speedy communication of intelligence, by means of telegraphs, that were to be erected on the several heights leading to the coast. In September, a trial was made on Wimbleton Common, which being approved by the Admiralty, orders were given for erecting telegraphs on certain stations, that were found most convenient and suitable for this purpose, between London and Deal. The communication was found to answer every expectation that was formed respecting it; upon which they were branched off from Beacon Hill (on the road from London to Deal), to Sheerness.

Early in the Spring of the following year, a communication was formed between London and Portsmouth, by the same means; and the plan, having been altered and improved upon in several particulars, it was determined to extend it still further, which has been done greatly to the benefit of the nation, in a naval point of view.

The maritime event, first in point of importance, which claims our attention this year, was the unfortunate expedition to Quiberon. Of all the parts of France, the district of La Vendee, in the province of

Brittany, had manifested the most zealous, determined, and general adherence to the cause of royalty; and this cause they had been enabled to support, notwithstanding all the efforts of the republicans, in consequence of the peculiar nature of the country. But, at last, not finding themselves countenanced by the allies, or even by the royal family of France, and perceiving their territory laid waste by the armies of the republic, in February 1795, the people of La Vendee agreed to deliver up their arms and for the future to acknowledge the new government of France. But, though most of their leaders acceded to this treaty, yet some of the most daring still held out; and from their representations to the British ministry, it was determined to send a strong army to their assistance and support. The British ministry were induced to take this step, not only from the representations of the chiefs of the people of La Vendee, but also from the statements of the French emigrants who were in England; to these Mr. Windham, a man devoted in a most remarkable, and even an enthusiastic degree to the cause of the exiled family, lent too ready an ear: he believed their representations; he anticipated the destruction of the republican party, and the re-establishment of the Bourbons, provided a numerous army could be landed in La Vendee. While this plan was in agitation, the Chouans (for so the insurgents were denominated) rose in arms; and with an army consisting of 6000 men, invested the town of Grandchaup; the intelligence of their strength, and of their success, but not of their subsequent disasters and defeat (for the republican army took them by surprise, and routed them with considerable slaughter), confirmed the British ministry in their designs. In the beginning of June, an armament sailed for the southern part of Brittany, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren: when he arrived, he found the insurgents very numerous; but as they were not in possession of any of the sea ports on that part of the

coast, it was necessary for the armament to proceed to Quiberon. Here the troops, consisting principally of French emigrants, very imprudently, and impolitically mixed up with French prisoners, landed with very little opposition from the republicans. The Chouans flocked to them in great numbers: arms were distributed among them; and already the emigrants anticipated complete success, when they were fatally convinced that their new allies were not much to be depended upon for steadiness or courage. At the approach of a small body of the republican army, some thousands of the Chouans threw down their arms and fled. Upon this, the Count D'Hervilly, who commanded them, was obliged to retire within the entrenchments, which had been erected on the peninsula of Quiberon. In order to guard and protect the main land, and to keep the invading army confined to this peninsula, the republicans threw up three redoubts. These, therefore, it was necessary to take, before any advance into the country could take place.

The whole force which occupied the peninsula, amounted to nearly 12,000 men, consisting of British troops, emigrants, and Chouans: of these, 5000 were selected to make an attempt to carry by storm the works and entrenched camp on the heights of St. Barbe. On the night of the 15th of July they marched out for this purpose: they succeeded, without much difficulty or loss, in carrying two of the redoubts; but on their approach to the third, a masked battery opened against them; and its fire was so heavy and constant, and directed with so sure and fatal an aim, enfilading them as they advanced to the attack, that they were obliged to give way, after having suffered very severely. Their flight was so rapid, and disorderly, that few of them could have escaped, had not they been protected by the British ships, which, lying at anchor near the shore, opened such a fire on the republican army, as compelled them to

retreat in their turn. This was only the beginning of their disasters: suspicion, and mutual recrimination took place among the emigrant chiefs; while such of the men as had been enlisted from among the French Prisoners, took the opportunity of deserting, and conveyed to the republican army accurate intelligence of the state of the invading forces and their leaders.

At the head of the republican army was General Hoche, a man remarkable, even among the enterprising men whom the French revolution has created, or called into notice and action, for quickness of intellect and vigorous resolution. Informed by the deserters of the state of his opponents, he soon laid down a plan of attacking them: they were partly shut up in Fort Penthierre, and partly encamped near it. General Hoche resolved to attack both at the same time. On the night of the 20th, which was extremely dark and tempestuous, he marched to the attack. By the deserters he was informed of the watch-word; and by them his troops were conducted through the concealed ways and passes, and entered the fort without resistance or discovery. The gunners were found asleep; their powder was seized, and a lanthorn, by the lighting of which, a signal, in case of attack or danger, was to have been made to the British squadron in the road. As soon as the garrison was aware of the entry of the republican troops, they were thrown into confusion, while many of the emigrants laid down their arms, and shouted *Vive la République*. It is even said, that two whole regiments, after disarming their officers, went over to the republican army. While, however, a large proportion of the emigrants behaved in this disgraceful manner, the Count de Sombreuil at the head of a body of them, who were much attached to him, made a most gallant, but unsuccessful resistance: they were obliged to capitulate, but not till General Hoche had agreed to receive and treat them as prisoners of war, provided the convention

assented to that condition. Shortly afterwards, however, these men, with their brave and heroic leader suffered for their loyalty, being shot at Vannes, on the 5th of August. In a letter which the Count de Sombreuil wrote, soon after he was made prisoner, he complained most bitterly of M. De Puissaye, the commander-in-chief of the emigrants, who, after ordering him to occupy a position, in which he was to wait his further directions, "took the singular precaution of hastening to a ship, and securing his retreat; thus abandoning to their destiny, a multitude of victims, whom he sacrificed."

As there was still a large body of royalists on the peninsula, Sir John Warren determined, if possible, to bring them off: this he fortunately succeeded in accomplishing, though with great difficulty, under cover of the fire of the frigates. Their numbers were between 2000 and 3000. Notwithstanding the unexpected and unfortunate termination of this expedition, the British government ordered Sir John Warren's squadron to continue off the coast of France: it is not clear whether they were induced to this, from the belief, or hope, that the royalists would again rise in sufficient force to justify their co-operation; or, because they wished to distract the attention of the French Government, and oblige them to divide their armies. Probably both considerations weighed with them; at least the first seems to have been partly an inducement to the continuance of the squadron, since, after the failure at Quiberon, it made several attempts to get possession of some island on the coast of France. The island of Nourmoutier was first attacked; but that enterprise was soon abandoned, as nearly 20,000 men were stationed on it, and the neighbouring part of the Continent. The British were more successful in their attempt against the Isle Dieu; this they succeeded in reducing, and afterwards put it into a formidable state of defence. Soon after this conquest, the Count D'Artois, the Duc De

Bourbon, and some other French Noblemen, came in the Jason frigate, accompanied by a fleet of transports, having 4000 British troops on board, under the command of General Doyle. The troops remained on the island till the end of the year, when it being ascertained that a descent on the coast of France was either impracticable, or if practicable, would be attended with no beneficial result, they were re-embarked, and returned to England. While they did remain on the island, they obliged the French government to keep large bodies of men stationed in all the adjacent parts.

Lord Bridport this year, having the command of the Channel fleet, sailed from St. Helen's on the 12th of June. On the 22d of that month, his look-out frigates made the signal for the enemy's fleet. As it was evidently not their intention to fight, his lordship directed the fastest sailing ships of his fleet to give chase, while he followed with the remainder. As there was very little wind, the van of the British did not come up with the enemy till the morning of the 23d; the action began a little before six o'clock, and continued till near nine, when the Alexander, Le Tigre, and Le Formidable, struck; at this time the British squadron was near some batteries, and in the face of a strong naval port (Port L'Orient), under the protection of which the remainder of the enemy's fleet made their escape.

The British fleet in this action suffered a loss of 31 killed, and 113 wounded; on board of the enemy's ships which were captured, between four and five hundred men were killed and wounded.

The French fleet, which Lord Bridport had engaged, consisted of twelve sail of the line, besides frigates:—a few days before he fell in with them, they surrounded a British squadron, commanded by Admiral Cornwallis, consisting of five ships of the line, and two frigates. In this trying predicament, the British admiral displayed most extraordinary skill and bravery,

and actually fought his way through the French fleet, without the loss of a single man: only twelve were wounded, and the damage sustained by the ships was very inconsiderable. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were very justly, and unanimously voted to the admiral, and his officers and men, for their conduct on this occasion.

Admiral Hotham, who commanded on the Mediterranean station, was principally occupied there in watching the French fleet in Toulon; and in protecting our new acquisition, the island of Corsica. On the 8th of March, he received intelligence from Genoa, that the enemy's fleet, amounting to fifteen sail of the line and three frigates, had been seen off Marguerite; at this time, the British squadron was lying off Leghorn: the admiral immediately ordered them to weigh and stand out to sea. As it was extremely probable that the destination and object of the French were the island of Corsica, towards it he directed his course, dispatching the Tarleton brig to St. Fiorenzo, with directions for the Berwick man of war, which was lying there, to join the fleet off Cape Corse; but the Berwick had already fallen into the hands of the enemy, after a most gallant and determined resistance, in which, her captain lost his life. On the 12th, the French fleet were descried at a considerable distance to windward; and as they did not appear disposed to take advantage of their being in possession of the wind to come down, Admiral Hotham made the signal to chase them; during the chase, one of the enemy's squadron carried away her top-masts; and in consequence of this accident, the Inconstant frigate, came up with her: Captain Fremantle who commanded her, immediately attacked, raked and harassed her so much, that the Agamemnon also, Captain Nelson, was able to come up; she was now most vigorously engaged by both these ships, which continued the fight, and the pursuit at the same time, till they had got so much a head of their own fleet, as to



endanger their safety from the enemy's ships, which were coming up to the assistance of their disabled comrade. The French, however, were still unwilling to bring on a general engagement; and, therefore, the main body of their squadron made sail, while the disabled ship, and the one which had taken her in tow, were left considerably behind: perceiving this on the morning of the 14th, Admiral Hotham, thought himself secure, either of capturing these two vessels, or of forcing the enemy, in their defence, to a general and decisive battle. The Captain and Bedford, therefore, were ordered to crowd all sail, and endeavour to capture the two vessels. The British commander preferred sending off only two sail in pursuit of them, as, on the one hand, amply sufficient for their capture, while he hoped, on the other hand, by this means, more effectually to entice the French squadron, to bear down to protect their comrades. For some time, the intentions, and consequently the manœuvres of the enemy appeared doubtful and wavering; while they were in this state of indecision, the Bedford and Captain had got so far, as to cut the disabled ships completely off. The French Admiral perceiving this, abandoned them to their fate, merely firing upon the British as they passed on the opposite tack. The ships that were taken were the *Ca Ira*, of 80 guns; and the *Censeur* of 74 guns; the loss of the French on board of these ships was great, owing to the great number of troops which they were carrying against Corsica; it amounted to between 300 and 400. The British lost 75 killed, and 280 wounded.

Admiral Hotham was obliged to return to St. Fiorenzo, to refit; on his way thither, the *Illustrious*, which had suffered very severely in the battle, having been separated from the fleet, was lost near Avenza: he continued here till the beginning of July, when he was surprised to perceive the French fleet, which he imagined to be in Toulon, pursuing a squadron, which he had sent to Genoa, under Captain Nelson,

to gain intelligence, close into St. Fiorenzo. The British squadron at this time had not completed their watering, or refitting, yet by very extraordinary activity and exertion, that very evening, they were all under weigh. It was not, however, till the 13th, that the enemy were discovered near the Hieres island, to the leeward of the British, on the starboard tack: they consisted of seventeen sail of the line, and three frigates.

The British Admiral, having the windward gage, entertained sanguine hopes, that he should be able to bring them to a close, general, and decisive engagement; his object was, if possible, to cut them off from the land; and for this purpose, he formed his fleet in line of battle, on the larboard tack, carrying all the sail he could, in order to preserve the windward gage. The wind at this time blew strong from the W. N. W. attended by a heavy swell.

While the wind continued, the British fleet gained on the enemy, and at eight o'clock, the signal was thrown out, for each ship to engage, as they should come up; soon afterwards, however, the wind failed the British van; and it was nearly 12 o'clock, before any of them got up with the French rear; as soon as they did, they attacked *L'Alcide*, of 74 guns; which was the sternmost ship, with great impetuosity and effect; she held out for about an hour, and then struck her colours. At this time, the centre and rear of the British squadron were becalmed in the offing, while the French squadron, without having made any attempt to protect or succour *L'Alcide*, taking advantage of a favourable change of wind, pushed on, and got into Frejus Bay. Before the captured ship was taken possession of, she took fire, and the flames spreading with the utmost rapidity, she blew up with a dreadful explosion, the British boats, which were hoisted out as soon as the accident was discovered, being able to save only 300 of her crew; nearly 400 are supposed to have perished. In this battle, the British lost 10 killed, and 24 wounded.

Very early this year Sir Sidney Smith had an opportunity of displaying those talents of bold activity, and daring enterprise, which we have already noticed as peculiarly distinguishing him. It was of the utmost importance, not only to watch the harbour of Brest, in order to ascertain the motions of the French fleet, but also, whenever our squadron, employed for that purpose, had been compelled, by stress of weather, to leave that station, on its return to discover, whether during its absence, the enemy had sailed, or whether any more of their ships were in the harbour. On the 4th of January, Sir John Borlase Warren, sailed from Falmouth, in order to reconnoitre Brest: he could not accurately determine the distance at which it was prudent for his squadron to cruize, or what force was in the harbour; he therefore dispatched Sir Sidney Smith, in the Diamond, with instructions to run into it, as far as he possibly could. The enterprise, at all times, and under the most favourable circumstances, was one of considerable difficulty and hazard; but, at the time the Diamond undertook it, it was particularly difficult and hazardous. The wind blew rather strong from the east; it was therefore necessary for the Diamond to beat up, in order to reach the harbour: this she continued to do between Ushant and Brest, while the tide was favourable: but when the ebb tide set in, Sir Sidney not being able to make way against both wind and tide, came to an anchor. In the mean time, three French men of war, standing for Brest, came to anchor, one of them within two miles of the Diamond. The English frigate, however, had been so completely disguised, that she was not suspected by the French; and Sir Sidney Smith, after lying at anchor till eleven o'clock, got again under sail, and passed within half a mile of the enemy's vessel. On the morning of the 4th, the Diamond had reached far into Brest harbour; but the ebb tide again setting in, and Sir Sidney being apprehensive that, if he came to

anchor in the situation he then was in, it might give rise to suspicion, the *Diamond* was kept under sail; and during her tacks, actually often came within musket shot of the enemy. When the tide again served, the *Diamond* stood still further into the harbour, till Sir Sidney having ascertained the force and condition of the ships which were lying there, and that the grand fleet had put to sea, put about, in order to convey the information to Sir John Warren. On his return, he had still an arduous undertaking to accomplish; and was in fact exposed to more danger, than when he worked into the harbour: for on the *Diamond's* not returning the private signal, which was made to her by a *Corvette*, which was coming out of Brest, she put about, in order to regain the harbour, and give information of her suspicions respecting the *Diamond*. Sir Sidney, however, still kept his way; and as he was convinced that confidence and presence of mind would be most to his advantage, he passed within hail of the line of battle ship; and perceiving that she was very disabled, he asked her commander in French, whether he "wanted any assistance." Still there was no suspicion on board this vessel; for her reply was, "no, that he had been dismasted in a heavy gale, and had parted with the French fleet three days ago." When the *Diamond* had passed this vessel, all danger was over; and Sir Sidney rejoined Sir John Warren, having completely succeeded in the mission on which he was sent.

We have been induced to dwell thus long and fully, on the particulars of this enterprise, from two considerations: in the first place, every thing that regards such a man as Sir Sidney Smith, must be interesting and important: his is no common character; nor is there any action of his professional life, in which that character is not brought out, in a most prominent and distinct manner. If we compare the character of Sir Sidney Smith, Lord Nelson, and some others of our naval heroes of the present age, with the characters

of those, who distinguished themselves towards the beginning or middle of the 18th century, we shall be convinced, that the former, in several respects, are superior to the latter: the bravery of the latter was undoubted; but it too frequently contented itself with the exact line of duty: they neglected nothing which they ought to have performed; they did every thing which you could justly expect from them; whereas the naval heroes, which this generation has witnessed, have outstript expectation, in many instances, and even the most daring hopes, in others. In marking out for themselves their line of conduct, they have not asked what have the country a right to expect, or what they were bound to perform; but their imagination, warmed by a zealous and romantic attachment to their country, and to the service in which they were brought up, and engaged, figured out enterprises the most daring, which, instead of being appalled by the greatness, or the danger of them, they were only the more eager to achieve. In the second place, instances of presence of mind, such as that which we have just recorded, display a feature in the British naval character, which, in conjunction with the known bravery of our seamen, must strike deeply on the apprehensions of the enemy, and pave the way for success in every maritime enterprise, where the superiority is not very overwhelming. It is a common, and just observation, that by appearing free from danger, danger is often avoided; by entering on an enterprise with an evident confidence of success, not only are the powers of mind more at command, but the courage and hopes of the enemy are weakened and disheartened.

In the West Indies, there was nothing this year, in a maritime point of view, worthy of record. The French privateers were extremely numerous, and very successful in their cruises; indeed the arrival of Victor Hughes, which we noticed under the occurrences of 1794, not only infused vigour into the operations

of the French by land, but also into their naval enterprises: the latter, in consequence of a want of ships of war, were necessarily confined to privateers; but these were commanded and manned by persons, in general, very little inferior in spirit and activity to that republican.

It has already been remarked, that he was empowered, and indeed commanded by the national convention, to give liberty to the slaves; by this measure, he had been enabled to rescue from us, our conquests in the West Indies. As soon as he had accomplished this, he directed the same means against some of our own islands; emissaries were sent over from Guadeloupe, who were but too successful in stirring up insurrection among the negroes; the most horrid acts of cruelty were committed by them in St. Vincent, Grenada, and Dominica; the plantations were burnt, and men, women, and children, put to death. Under these circumstances, nothing could have saved the islands, but the steady bravery of the regular British troops: they attacked the insurgents in different pitched battles, in all which they routed them; they pursued them to their hiding places, and fastnesses, and at length restored these colonies to tranquillity and order, though not without very considerable loss.

In order to protect our West India Islands from the madness of the French emissaries, and at the same time, to carry on with more effect and success, the plan adopted by the British ministry, of stripping the enemy of all their colonial possessions in that quarter of the world, 16,000 troops were collected and embarked at St. Helen's on the 16th of November. Rear Admiral Christian had the command of the fleet, which was to convey them. Perhaps never was any fleet more unfortunate; the season of the year, at which they sailed from England, was, indeed, ill-chosen; and tempestuous weather was naturally anticipated and dreaded. But such a series of it had

scarcely ever before been witnessed. The fleet, with the troops on board, was, in the first place, detained a long time at St. Helen's; at last, the wind became favourable, and they sailed; scarcely, however, had they cleared the Isle of Wight, before a violent storm from the west arose: the ships were dispersed; many of them were obliged to put into Torbay, others into Portland; while the greater number, with the rear-admiral returned to Spithead. For two days did the storm rage with unabated fury; several of the transports and merchantmen foundered, or were wrecked. Above 200 dead bodies were thrown ashore between Bridport and Portland. On the 9th of December, the fleet again put to sea, this time they made rather more progress, and met with rather more favourable weather; but they were still unfortunate: for after having cleared the channel, another storm arose, which continued with different degrees of violence, for nearly seven weeks. The consequence was, that 50 sail, out of the 300, of which the convoy consisted, were obliged to return to Spithead in a most dreadful condition; the rest pursued their voyage, but they were destined to be again unfortunate; several of them were taken by the enemy, and a few foundered at sea.

The French having gained the entire possession of Holland, orders were given by the British ministry, on the 19th of January, to seize all Dutch vessels in our ports. At this time there were lying at Plymouth, two 64 gun ships, a frigate, two sloops of war, nine East-India ships, and about 60 sail of other vessels, which were accordingly taken possession of. The British ministry were determined to carry on the war against this new enemy, with activity and vigour; and the first and principal enterprise which they undertook was, the capture of the Cape of Good Hope. This settlement is not only valuable in itself, but it lies extremely convenient for our East India trade. It was not expected that the conquest would prove difficult, or require a strong force, or

much time; for the Dutch, both at home, and in their different settlements, were much divided in their political opinions and conduct. While the great majority of the common people were extremely averse to the government and the person of the Stadtholder, and had been completely seduced by the intrigues and representations of the French, several of the more respectable and intelligent people, especially those who were high in command and influence, in civil, military, and naval capacities, retained their allegiance and devotion to the house of Orange. It was believed that, at the Cape of Good Hope, the influence of France was neither extensive nor powerful: on this account, therefore, as well as from the consideration of the value and importance of the settlement, the conquest of it was meditated and planned by the British ministry.

For this purpose, Rear-admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone was sent out with a considerable squadron; the command of the troops, embarked in this squadron, was given to Major-general Craig. On their arrival, they found the governor more disposed to offer resistance than had been anticipated; when they summoned him to surrender, he not only refused, but having first set fire to Simon's Town, he retired with a strong force to the adjacent hills, occupying, with the militia and the Hottentot corps, a pass which defended and led to the position which he had taken up. Cape Town was immediately entered by the British: but unless their communication with the adjacent country was regular and safe, it could be of no use to retain the town. This communication could not be opened till the enemy were dislodged; for this purpose, one thousand seamen, formed into two battalions, under the command of Captains Hardy and Spranger, were landed, and were ordered to co-operate with the army. At the same time a gunboat was fitted out: and the launches were armed with carronades.



The advance post, which the Dutch had raised and fortified with two twenty-four pounders, lay near the shore; towards this, therefore, the troops first directed their march; and during it, they were covered and protected by the gun-boat and launches. The enemy, however, abandoned this and another post, after firing a few shot. Nothing now intervened between the troops and the Dutch camp; but as the latter was strong, and defended by a large force, four sloop of war were directed to attack it; this they did in a most judicious and effectual manner, so that the enemy were soon compelled to abandon it, and fly in all directions with the utmost precipitation and disorder. As the hopes of the enemy rested entirely on this position, they resolved to attempt its re-capture; for this purpose, the next day, having assembled all their force, and being strengthened with eight pieces of cannon, they advanced to the attack; but they were every where beaten back. In this repulse the battalions of seamen distinguished themselves in a very particular manner: so that the general, in his public despatches observed, that they crossed the water and received the enemy's fire without returning a shot; manœuvring with a regularity which would not have discredited veteran troops.

Notwithstanding this success, the subjugation of the cape and its dependencies would probably have been an arduous and tedious operation, had not a strong reinforcement arrived to the British, under the command of General Clarke; it was now resolved by the admiral and general, to concert a vigorous and immediate attack on the enemy: no time was lost in disembarking the troops that had just arrived; and on the morning of the 14th, the army began its march, each man carrying along with him four days provisions. One of the greatest obstacles was apprehended to arise from the cannon, which it would be necessary to take along with them, as the road lay through a deep and fatiguing sand; when this dif-

difficulty was made known, the seamen from the East India ships, which had brought the reinforcement, voluntarily offered their services; and notwithstanding during this enterprise they were exposed to a galling fire from the enemy, they performed it with the greatest steadiness and alacrity. Nor was this the only part which the seamen took towards the reduction of this important settlement: as it was of great importance to distract the attention of the enemy, four East Indiamen were sent into Table Bay, to make a diversion on that side. During these operations, the British army continued to advance; and the Dutch, perceiving themselves threatened in front by such a powerful force, while their flanks were exposed to the fire from the Indiamen, sent a flag of truce, requesting an armistice for forty-eight hours; this was peremptorily and immediately refused: but the governor was told that twenty-four hours should be allowed him, at the end of which time his final answer must be returned; before these were expired, he agreed to surrender the colony. Our loss on this occasion was very trifling: of seamen there were only four killed, eighteen wounded, and three missing.

The intelligence that a Dutch war was begun, had no sooner reached the East Indies, than Commodore Rainier, who commanded on that station, determined to attempt the conquest of all their forts and settlements in that part of the world. Trincomale, in the island of Ceylon, was his first object of attack; and towards this, he had the assistance and co-operation of Colonel Stewart, with the troops under his orders: after some show of resistance, the governor surrendered that important fort. About the same time that Commodore Rainier sailed from Madras against Trincomale, he dispatched Captain Pakenham in the *Resistance*, with a small body of troops, against the Dutch settlement at Malacca; this also surrendered on the 17th of August. Besides these successes against the Dutch colonies in the East Indies, their

trade suffered very considerably ; several of their East Indiamen were taken in Simon's, and Table Bay : and off St. Helena, five sail of them were captured by Captain Effingham in the Sceptre.

A very gallant action was fought by two of our smallest frigates in the Mediterranean, against a very superior force. The *Dido*, of twenty-eight guns, and two hundred men, commanded by Captain Towry, and the *Lowestoffe*, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain W. G. Middleton, were ordered to cruise between the Hieres Islands, and Toulon ; as they were proceeding to their destination, two sail of the enemy were discovered. They proved to be *La Minerve*, of forty-two guns, of a very heavy metal, and three hundred and thirty men ; and *L'Artemise*, of thirty guns. Perceiving the inferior force and size of the English frigates, they stood down directly towards them. The action began, first between the *Dido* and *La Minerve* : and although the latter had so much the advantage in number of guns and weight of metal, yet the former was manœuvred and fought with so much more skill and bravery, that in a short time the enemy was much disabled : she also fell twice on board the *Dido*, which vessel having lost her mizen-mast, could no longer be kept to. The action now commenced between the *Lowestoffe* and the other French frigate ; but not so closely or constantly ; for the enemy, after having passed and exchanged broadsides, tacked, and seemed disposed to make off to the assistance of her disabled comrade. In order to prevent this, Captain Towry directed the *Lowestoffe* to follow her ; by this movement, she was compelled to abandon *La Minerve* to her fate ; which, after being raked and terribly cut up by the *Druid* and the *Lowestoffe*, surrendered about noon to the latter.

In consequence of our great naval superiority in the West Indies, the French laboured under great difficulties to supply their islands with provisions and

military stores: to obviate this difficulty, they were obliged to send to the continent of North America; and already had the United States displayed such a partiality for France, as not only to allow greater privileges to her ships in their ports, but also to supply them with such naval and military stores as their islands required. In the spring of 1795, Guadaloupe was in great distress for want of provisions, and in great need of all kinds of stores: in order to supply this island, as well as for the purpose of carrying articles of the same kind to France itself, five vessels, well fitted and armed, were sent up the Chesapeake. Rear-admiral Murray, who commanded his Majesty's ships on the American station, having gained information that these ships were lying in Hampton road, ready for sea, and only waiting for a favourable opportunity to elude or escape the vigilance of our cruisers, dispatched the *Thetis*, of thirty-eight guns, commanded by Hon. Captain Alexander Cochrane, and the *Hussar*, of twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Beresford, with orders to cruise off the Chesapeake. On the morning of the 17th of May, they descried the enemy, who immediately formed a line of battle ahead, and waited to receive them. Captain Cochrane undertook with the *Thetis*, to attack the largest, which had stationed herself in the centre of the line, as well as the two which were drawn up in the rear of her; the others, forming the van, he directed the *Hussar* to attack.

As soon as they got within musket shot, the enemy commenced firing; the British frigates did not immediately return the fire, but waited till they could do it with the most certain and the greatest effect. Within half an hour after the engagement began, the enemy's frigate which carried the broad pendant, and his second ahead, left the line and crowded all the sail they could carry. The centre ship and the two others in her rear remained firm; against them the fire of the *Thetis* and *Hussar* was

directed ; and, in the course of an hour, they were compelled to strike their colours. The one that struck to the Hussar, proved to be *La Raison* : she was of the size of a twenty-four-gun ship, and was pierced for that number ; but at the time of the engagement, she had only eighteen mounted. The other, *La Prevoyante*, which struck to the *Thetis*, was pierced for forty six guns, but carried only twenty-four.

A single handed action was fought this year, which, from the circumstances preceding and attending it, may well be deemed a pitched battle, and is deserving of particular detail : The *Blanche* frigate, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain Robert Faulkner, discovered a large French frigate coming out of Point-a-Petre, in the island of Guadaloupe. In order to entice her to battle, Captain Faulkner stood as near the enemy's fort as he prudently could, every now and then heaving to, and firing occasionally. Though the French frigate had come out of Guadaloupe for the express purpose of fighting the *Blanche*, yet the courage and resolution of her captain seems to have wavered when he came in sight of the British frigate. Captain Faulkner, however, was determined not to be baulked in his hopes of a battle : at first he tried whether he could provoke his opponent, by taking possession of a schooner which came out of Guadaloupe : finding that the enemy was not disposed to prevent him from making this capture, and despairing of his leaving the protection of the fort, while he continued in sight, he stood off towards the island of Marigalante. When the day began to close, he stretched towards Dominica ; and between these two islands, he perceived the French frigate, about two leagues astern : he immediately made sail towards her : the *Blanche* was at this time on the starboard tack ; and the enemy on the larboard. As they passed each other on these different tacks, they exchanged broadsides. In half an hour afterwards, the

Blanche having got within musket shot, the enemy wore, with an intention to rake her : Captain Faulkner, however, aware of his design, by wearing his ship at the same time, not only prevented it from taking effect, but actually succeeded in bringing the Blanche close alongside of the French frigate. The action now commenced with the most desperate fury on both sides. Captain Faulkner determined that the enemy should not escape, and that it should be a pure trial of resolution and bravery, ordered the Blanche to be laid across her opponent's bows ; and when in this situation, he himself lashed the bowsprit to the capstern ; while on the bowsprit, he was much exposed to the musketry from the deck of the French frigate ; but at this time he escaped unhurt. As the two vessels were so close to each other, very few guns could be used by either : the engagement was, therefore, principally kept up by musketry from the tops and by the quarter-deck guns. The enemy perceiving that the deck of the Blanche was much encumbered by the fall of her masts and rigging, attempted to effect a boarding : in this attempt they were repulsed with considerable slaughter. Soon afterwards, the enemy's frigate got clear of the Blanche and dropped astern ; as the latter was in no condition to have pursued her, Captain Faulkner again had recourse to the plan of lashing them together ; and in order that it might be done this time more effectually, he ordered a hawser to be got up, with which he fastened the French frigate to the quarter of the Blanche. While he was superintending and assisting in this, he was shot dead ; the officers and crew, instead of being daunted by his loss, were only stimulated and inflamed to greater feats of bravery. His place in the command of the ship was filled, and most nobly and worthily filled, by Lieutenant Watkins ; the fight continued with great obstinacy, as from the relative situation of the two frigates the great guns of the Blanche were of no service, part

of her stern frame was blown out: by means of this, the two aftermost guns on the main deck were brought to bear so directly and with so much effect against the enemy, that they raked her fore and aft: all her masts soon went by the board, and her head was entirely shot away. She was still fastened to the *Blanche*, who continued to tow her along, all the while raking her. The engagement lasted in this manner till 5 o'clock, when the enemy hailed that she had struck. As neither of the frigates had a single boat but what was shattered to pieces, the second lieutenant of the *Blanche* and ten men jumped overboard, swam to the enemy, and took possession of her. She was *La Pique*, of forty guns, and four hundred and sixty men; her loss amounted to seventy-six killed, and one hundred and ten wounded. The loss of the *Blanche* was very small compared with that of the enemy, and considering the length and obstinacy of the engagement; besides Captain Faulkner, seven were killed, and twenty-one wounded.

The capture of the *Berwick* by the enemy, this year has already been noticed; another line of battle ship also fell into their hands; but she yielded to a much superior in force, and not till she had made a most gallant resistance. Of all the French squadrons which put to sea this year, that under Admiral Richery was the most successful; it consisted of nine sail of the line, and several frigates. One of its first objects was, to intercept our Mediterranean convoy: these amounted to sixty sail, many of them with extremely valuable cargoes; they were under the protection of three ships of the line, and four frigates. Captain Taylor, in the *Censeur*, acted as commodore. On the 7th of October, being near Cape St. Vincent, this convoy fell in with the French squadron under Admiral Richery. The signal was immediately made for the convoy to disperse; while in order to favour their escape, Captain Taylor formed the line with the ships of war. At this time there was a very heavy

rolling sea; and just as the foremost ship of the enemy came near the *Censeur*, the latter carried away her fore-top mast: in consequence of this unfortunate occurrence, the rest of the French squadron were enabled to gain rapidly on the British; and there was now no resource but to fight as long as the ships could stand out against such a superior force. The enemy perceiving the disabled state of the *Censeur*, directed their fire principally against her: and as she could not be manœuvred with sufficient rapidity or advantage, she was soon considerably damaged both in her rigging and hull: add to this, that her ammunition was nearly expended. She was, therefore, compelled to strike: and her captain at the same time had the mortification to perceive about fifteen of the merchantmen captured by the enemy.

Besides this loss, our commerce suffered also by the capture of twelve of the homeward bound Jamaica fleet, which were taken by a French squadron, which sailed from Rochefort, in order to intercept them.

1796. The speech, which was delivered at the meeting of parliament, on the 29th of October, 1795, and the debates which ensued on the address, present nothing novel or interesting. His Majesty dwelt on the prospect of the failure of the French finances and resources; on the impossibility of treating with the enemy at that period; and on his desire to conclude a peace, whenever it could be done with safety, and with honour. The opposition, on the contrary, contended, that the longer the war continued, the more distant was the prospect of peace; that if our object was to diminish the power of France, we were taking the wrong steps to obtain it; since the power of the enemy was augmented and extended, instead of being weakened and curtailed by hostilities. They further maintained that there was no obstacle to peace; or, at least, to a negotiation for peace. Although an amendment to the address to the above effect, which was moved in parliament by the opposition, was lost



by a very great majority, yet the British ministry yielded to their opinions and advice towards the close of the year, by sending Lord Malmsbury to France, in order to negotiate a peace. The attempt, however, was fruitless; since, after a tedious and protracted stay there, he returned, unable to bring the French government to any fair or equitable terms.

The following supplies were granted for the sea-service and ordnance this year; for one hundred and ten thousand men, including eighteen thousand marines, 5,720 000*l.*; for the ordinary, including half-pay, 624,152*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; for extraordinaries, 708,400*l.*; for ordnance, 61,000*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*; towards discharging the navy debt, 500,000*l.*; making the total for the navy, 7,613,552*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* The total supplies granted were 37,558,502*l.* 0*s.* 6¼*d.*

The most important event that took place near home this year was, the attempted invasion of Ireland by the French: that country was unfortunately in a most disturbed and disaffected state; and as the partizans of the French in it were very numerous and active, they hoped, if they could effect a landing, with a considerable army, that the conquest of the island would be easily effected. General Hoche, therefore, with twenty-five thousand troops under his command, were embarked at Brest: the fleet which was destined to convey them, and to secure and protect their landing, consisted of seventeen sail of the line, several frigates, and other armed vessels. The whole sailed from Brest on the 16th of December; the French government had intended that it should have sailed much sooner, and at a more propitious season of the year; but various unforeseen circumstances had delayed its departure. In all its stages, indeed, this enterprise was very unfortunate; just as the fleet was on the point of sailing, a mutiny broke out; this was occasioned by the circumstance of part of the recruits having been drawn from the galleys, and incorporated with the regular soldiers. At last, they

left Brest harbour; but in the passage of the Raz, two ships of the line ran foul of each other, and received so much damage, that the further progress of the whole fleet was delayed, till they could be repaired. The next day witnessed a still greater misfortune; a seventy-four gun ship, having on board one thousand eight hundred sailors and soldiers, ran upon the rocks, and was entirely lost; only sixty lives were saved.

The French government adopted a novel, but successful method, to prevent the destination of this immense and formidable force from being anticipated: in all the newspapers published in France, and more especially in those that were under their immediate superintendence and controul, it was publicly announced, that the destination was Ireland: this was regarded as merely a feint to cover the real object of the expedition; and as the fleet had sailed from Brest a very long time, before any tidings were heard of it, it was naturally supposed to have a much more remote destination.

On the 22d, it was discovered off the south-west coast of Ireland; the next day a heavy gale of wind arose, which dispersed the greater part of it; such of the ships as kept together, or were enabled to collect again, anchored in Bantry Bay on the 24th. This division was under the command of Vice-admiral Bonnet; he remained in the bay till the 31st, waiting for the arrival of General Hoche, who had embarked on board a frigate; but as he did not make his appearance, the French admiral returned to Brest: against this measure, the next in command of the land-forces, who was on board of the admiral's ship, strongly, but vainly, protested. Bonnet contended, that as no person but General Hoche had received instructions how to act, if the troops were landed, it would be wrong to disembark them, unless he arrived; and as the season of the year rendered it very unsafe to continue long off the coast of Ireland, the French ad-

miral persisted in his intention of returning to Brest; thither also the rest of the fleet returned at different times, except two ships of the line and three frigates; of which, one ship of the line and two frigates foundered at sea; another frigate was taken by the English, and the other ship of the line was run a-shore by her crew to avoid a similar fate.

As the force which it had been intended to send out to the West Indies in 1795, in the transports which sailed with Admiral Christian, had been considerably weakened, in consequence of the tempestuous weather they had met with; Admiral Cornwallis, towards the end of February 1796, was ordered to sail thither with several merchantmen and transports under his protection. On the 14th of March, the admiral himself returned to Spithead; his ship, the Royal Sovereign, having run foul of one of the transports, and been much injured. As soon as his return was made known to the Admiralty, they sent down orders for him to proceed immediately on his destination, on board the Astrea frigate. This order Admiral Cornwallis did not comply with; and he was, therefore, brought to a court martial in Portsmouth harbour; besides the charge against him for not hoisting his flag on board the Astrea, he was charged with returning in the Royal Sovereign, contrary to orders, after having sailed from England for the West Indies, and proceeded a considerable way on his voyage; and with having given his instructions and the command of the convoy to another officer, when the Royal Sovereign was disabled, instead of immediately hoisting his flag on board of some other vessel, and proceeding on his destination. With respect to these two charges, the sentence of the court-martial was, that misconduct was imputable to him; but, in consideration of other circumstances, they acquitted him of any disobedience to orders. The charge that he had not hoisted his flag on board the Astrea, on his return to England, agreeably to the

directions of the Admiralty, the court were of opinion, was not proved, and, therefore, acquitted him upon it. Considerable interest was excited by this trial, both among the navy, and the public in general; the courage and zeal of Admiral Cornwallis were undoubted; and he had, on more than one occasion, proved that his own ease and safety had no weight with him, when the service or interest of his country demanded his exertions: at the same time, he was known to be very blunt and wayward; and though his conduct, arising probably from these qualities, rendered it absolutely necessary to hold a court-martial on him, yet none were sorry that their sentence acquitted him of any serious offence.

Sir Sidney Smith was employed on two enterprises this year, both of a description suited to his peculiar qualities, on both of which he displayed them to great advantage; but, on the latter of which, he was unfortunately taken prisoner. In the month of March, he had the command of a small squadron, consisting of his own vessel, the *Diamond*, the *Liberty* brig, commanded by Lieutenant M'Kinley, and the *Aristocrate* lugger, commanded by Lieutenant Gossett; he received information that a convoy of the enemy had taken shelter in the small port of Herqui, near Cape Frehel. The entrance to this port was extremely narrow and intricate; and it was, besides, defended by strong batteries: these circumstances, however, instead of checking, only served to inflame and stimulate Sir Sidney Smith. He stood into the harbour as far as he conveniently could with his squadron, and then landed a party of seamen and marines, who attacked and carried by storm the batteries: but his object was still surrounded with dangers and difficulties. The enemy had run their vessels aground; and it was necessary to attack and board them, in order to set them on fire; this also was accomplished in the most gallant and successful manner.

His next enterprise was off *Havre de Grace*; a

large lugger privateer was lying in the outer road. Sir Sidney, when he discovered her, ordered the boats of his squadron to be manned, and proceeded in one of them himself, on the night of the 18th of April, against the enemy; he succeeded in boarding and taking possession of her; her anchor was immediately weighed, and he stood out of the harbour; but the flood-tide setting in, and the wind being at the same time unfavourable, he was compelled to come to anchor again. It is not known whether the cable parted, or whether it was cut by some of the prisoners; the lugger, however, drifted up the Seine, by the force of the flood-tide, and, in a short time, came a-breast of the forts. Sir Sidney Smith and his brave companions used every exertion to extricate themselves from their perilous situation, but in vain; they could not make any way against the tide; the forts and gun boats attacked the lugger on all sides; so that, after a most gallant resistance, he was compelled to surrender. The treatment he experienced, and the mode by which he effected his escape, will be afterwards noticed.

The naval transactions in the Mediterranean this year were not very important. Genoa and Leghorn had been compelled to shut their ports against the English, in consequence of the decisive and important victories which Bonaparte had obtained in Italy. As it was necessary to possess some place where the British fleet could rendezvous and be repaired, Commodore Nelson was sent against the Isle of Elba, which was thought convenient and suitable for these purposes. This small island was defended by a strong bastion; the cannon of which, it was necessary, in the first instance, to silence; to effect this, Commodore Nelson, with his accustomed promptitude of courage, ran his own ship within half pistol-shot of it, on which the governor surrendered it. This position soon became of the utmost service; for the inhabitants of Corsica, who, at first, had invited the

English to rescue them from the power of the French, returned to their former masters; they had for some time displayed such aversion to the English government, which had been established on the island, that it was deemed prudent to withdraw the troops; abandoning the cannon, stores, and provisions, to the Corsicans.

In the West Indies, the navy co-operated with the army in the reduction of the Dutch settlements of Demerary, Essequibo, and Berbice, which fell without resistance; and of the island of St. Lucia, where the enemy capitulated, after having been successfully attacked in their strong post, at Morne Chabot, by General Moore. St. Vincent and Grenada were also reconquered; but Guadaloupe, where Victor Hughes had taken up his quarters, was deemed too difficult an enterprise. In St. Domingo, our loss of men from sickness was immense, while our progress in subduing the French part of this island was very slow and difficult.

In the East Indies, the Dutch settlements fell into our hands; offering little resistance, and producing a large booty. Captain Gardner reduced Negombo, and Columbo; while Admiral Rainier was equally successful in his attack on the valuable islands of Amboyna and Banda, where a considerable sum of money, and an immense quantity of cloves, nutmegs, &c. were found.

The loss of the Cape of Good Hope gave the greatest uneasiness to the Dutch; and they resolved to make a powerful and vigorous effort to re-conquer it; Accordingly Admiral Lucas was dispatched with a fleet, consisting of one ship of sixty-six, one of fifty-four, one of forty-four, and one of forty guns, and two small frigates: in order to avoid the dangers to which they would be exposed from the British fleet in the English Channel, the Dutch squadron proceeded north-about, round the Orkney Islands. But the inconveniences attending this long and circuitous voy-

age more than compensated the risque to which the regular and common course might have been exposed; for the seamen were exposed to disease; the ships were delayed and shattered by storms and adverse winds; and the very object which they had in view, by taking this route, was, in some measure, defeated, by the circumstance of some of our cruizers discovering their squadron. As the destination of it could pretty exactly and easily be divined, a powerful reinforcement was immediately sent out to the Cape of Good Hope, which, proceeding by the regular and shorter course, actually arrived there before that of the enemy.

Sir George Keith Elphinstone still commanded the British squadron on this station; and having been apprized of the sailing, and probable destination of the Dutch fleet, and at the same time considerably reinforced, in order to frustrate and defeat their object, he continued in St. Simon's Bay, without any uneasiness with respect to the result. His squadron was superior to that of the enemy, as it consisted of two seventy-four gun ships, five sixty-four gun ships, a fifty gun ship, and six smaller vessels. In the beginning of August, he received information that the enemy's fleet had arrived in Saldanha Bay; when he and Sir James Craig, who commanded the land-forces at the Cape, planned such measures as they thought were most likely to secure its capture with the least difficulty and loss. For this purpose Sir James Craig marched towards Saldanha Bay; while the admiral, leaving Simon's Bay, proceeded towards the same place, and anchored his squadron within gun-shot of the enemy's ships. A flag of truce was immediately sent to the Dutch commander, requesting him to surrender without resistance, and pointing out the consequences which must necessarily ensue, if he refused the summons. It was, indeed, impossible for the enemy's squadron either to escape, or to hope to overcome the English fleet. The Dutch admiral,

however, merely sent back a verbal message, that he should take some hours to consider of the proposal, and would return his answer next morning. Sir George Elphinstone, on this, being apprehensive that the design of the enemy was to take advantage of the delay, in order to destroy his squadron, insisted, before he granted it, that the Dutch admiral should give his word of honour, that no damage should be done either to it, or to the stores. This was accordingly given; and, on the next morning, the enemy agreed to capitulate: thus, without a single gun having been fired, the whole Dutch fleet which had left Europe with the express purpose of re-capturing the Cape of Good Hope, fell into the possession of the British.

The Thames frigate was this year re-captured from the enemy by Captain Martin, of the *Santa Margareta*; he was cruising off the Scilly Islands, in company with the *Unicorn*, when three sail of strange ships were seen to leeward: it was soon discovered that they were French frigates. Captain Martin immediately made the signal for the *Unicorn* to join him in the chase; and the pursuit was carried on with great spirit, as the enemy did not seem disposed to wait an engagement. About noon, the superior sailing of the English frigates brought them within gunshot of the enemy, and an action commenced, the French frigates at the same time still crowding sail, and endeavouring to escape; one of them, however, was left far astern by her comrades; and the *Unicorn* being placed on one side of her, while the *Santa Margareta* fired into her from the other side, she was soon compelled to strike her colours. This was the *Thames*, mounting at the time of her capture thirty-six guns, and having on board three hundred and twenty men. While Captain Martin took possession of her, Captain Williams in the *Unicorn* continued the pursuit of another of the frigates. This vessel, on perceiving the fate of the *Thames*, endeavoured,



by a bold and rapid manœuvre, to gain the wind of the English frigate; but in this she did not succeed. As the sailing of both these ships was nearly equal, the chase continued for some time; the enemy all the while continuing to fire her stern-guns with such judgment and effect, as materially to injure the sails and rigging of the Unicorn. While the wind continued brisk, the latter did not gain much on the French frigate; but towards dusk, the wind falling, she came so close up to her, as to take the wind from her sails: the pursuit lasted till ten o'clock at night, and during it, the ships had run upwards of two hundred and ten miles. As soon as the Unicorn got alongside of her opponent, her crew gave three cheers, at the same time pouring in a broadside: this was immediately returned, and the action continued with great fury and impetuosity for thirty-five minutes. The ships were so close to each other, and so completely covered by the smoke, that Captain Williams could not discern the manœuvres of the enemy; but the fire on both sides having then slackened, and the smoke cleared away, he found that the enemy had dropped on the quarter of the Unicorn, with the intention of crossing her stern, and thus gaining the weather-gage. This manœuvre was, however, defeated, and rendered abortive, by Captain Williams instantly ordering his ship to be thrown a-back, that, by giving her stern-way, she might shoot cross the bows of the enemy, and resume her position. The attack was again renewed; but the enemy finding that his manœuvre had failed, and his vessel being completely unrigged by the effects of the fire from the Unicorn, called out that he had surrendered. She proved to be *La Tribune*, pierced for forty-eight, but mounting only forty-four guns: at the commencement of the action, she had on board three hundred and thirty-seven men; thirty-seven of whom were killed, and fifteen wounded. On board the Unicorn not one man was lost.

Several very well-fought actions took place this year with the enemy's frigates, besides the two which we have just described; but our limits compel us, reluctantly, to confine our attention to two of the most remarkable;—that in which the *Glatton*, Captain Trollope, was engaged; and that, in which the *Terpsichore*, Captain Bowen, distinguished itself. The *Glatton* had formerly been an East Indiaman; she was purchased by government, and mounted with fifty-four guns; but these, though carrying very heavy metal, sixty-eight pounds, were only carronades. About the middle of July she sailed from Yarmouth Roads, in order to join the squadron, which was lying off the Texel, watching the Dutch fleet: the day after she left the roads, six large frigates, a brig and a cutter, were seen a few leagues from Helvoet: of the frigates, one mounted fifty guns; two thirty-six, and the other three, twenty-eight. Captain Trollope, not intimidated at their force, bore down to meet and engage them. The enemy in the mean time had formed the line of battle; and against the third ship in the line, Captain Trollope, directed the *Glatton* to be laid. The distance between them was not more than twenty yards: as soon as the engagement commenced, one of the headmost vessels of the enemy, tacking, laid herself along-side of the *Glatton* to windward, while another lay across her bow. While she was thus attacked by the headmost vessels, those which formed the rear of the line, engaged her on the lee-quarter and stern; so that she was completely surrounded by the enemy's squadron. In this situation the *Glatton* was fought with such skill and bravery that it was soon apparent that the enemy began to be tired of the battle;—every shot told; as the yard-arms of the English ship nearly touched those of the French frigates. Besides the advantage which the *Glatton* possessed from the superior skill of her seamen, her guns, which would have been of little service at a great distance, told

with dreadful effect, while the ships were so very near one another; and their weight of metal being much greater, the enemy suffered most dreadfully. As carronades are much shorter than other guns, they are much more easily managed, and do not inconvenience the working of the ship in a close engagement. All these circumstances operated in favour of the *Glatton*; so that in twenty minutes the enemy, after displaying evident marks of confusion and disorder, began to sheer off. Anxious as Captain Trollope was to pursue them, he found it absolutely impracticable, from the state in which the *Glatton* was: her masts, rigging, and sails, were so much damaged, that it would have been very unsafe to have attempted the pursuit. But he still hoped, by lying to during the night, to be able to put them into such a state, as would make it practicable to pursue the enemy in the morning, and again bring them to action; at day-light, however, he perceived the French frigates steering, under all the sail they could carry, for Flushing; Captain Trollope continued the pursuit till he came within three leagues of that harbour, when, despairing of being able to come up with the enemy, and apprehensive of the danger to which a disabled ship was exposed on a lee-shore, he thought it prudent to return to Yarmouth to refit. Notwithstanding the obstinacy of this engagement, the short distance at which it took place, and the additional circumstance that the *Glatton* was surrounded by the enemy during the whole of it, she did not lose a single man.

Holland was not the only new foe which Great Britain had to contend with this year; Spain also, after having made a feeble resistance to France, concluded a peace with that republic; and, besides other degrading and ignominious terms, agreed to join her arms with those of her former enemy, against Great Britain. The French government looked principally to assistance and co-operation from the Spanish fleet;

as they perceived they were not able alone to cope with Great Britain on her own element. Spain, however, was very slow and reluctant this year in her naval operations: one of her fleets did, indeed, sail from Cadiz in the month of July, but the sum of its exploits was chasing, without success, a squadron cruising in the Mediterranean, under Rear-admiral Mann. She had also sent to sea a few frigates; one of which, off Carthagena, bore down on the *Terpsichore*, Captain Bowen. This frigate mounted thirty-two guns, and had on board two hundred and fifteen men; while the Spanish frigate had thirty-four guns, and two hundred and seventy-five men. The disproportion, therefore, in this respect, was not very great or important, but the English frigate had several of her crew dangerously ill, or so very weak from recent disorder, as to be of little service in working or fighting the ship. Besides this, it occurred to Captain Bowen, that as the scene of action must be so near the enemy's coast, it was on the one hand highly probable that, before it was concluded, the Spanish frigate might be reinforced; while, on the other hand, even if he succeeded in capturing her, he could hardly flatter himself with being able to carry off his prize, in the sight of an enemy's port. Notwithstanding these considerations, he resolved not to decline the combat, which the Spaniard was evidently seeking; he, therefore, continued his course, and at half after nine in the morning, the enemy endeavoured to place his ship to advantage, to commence the action, by hauling up on the weather-beam of the *Terpsichore*. This Captain Bowen was resolved to prevent, and, if possible, to force him to begin the battle immediately; he, therefore, fired a gun, which was instantly returned by a broadside. The battle now commenced, and was fought with the most determined bravery on both sides for one hour and twenty minutes; at the end of this time, the fire of the enemy slackened, and he was evidently directing

his thoughts and his manœuvres towards effecting his escape. This Captain Bowen prevented by laying his ship in such a position as to take her more completely, and to disable her still more: at the end of twenty minutes from this time, the guns on the main-deck of the Spanish frigate were rendered useless, by the rigging and booms having fallen upon it; all her rigging was cut to pieces; so that she was entirely incapacitated, either from continuing the fight, or making her escape; she, therefore, struck her colours. On board the *Terpsichore*, only the boatswain and three seamen were wounded; while the Spanish frigate had thirty men killed and wounded.

Within two months after this battle, Captain Bowen, in the same ship, was again deservedly successful in an action with *La Vestale* of thirty-six guns and three hundred men: but from untoward circumstances, he lost his prize. The enemy was descried off Cadiz, towards which port, when chased by the *Terpsichore*, he crowded all the sail he could carry; but finding it impossible to avoid an action, he brought to about ten o'clock at night. The engagement lasted for an hour and a quarter; at the end of which time, all the masts of the French frigate had been carried away, her captain and forty men killed, and most of the surviving crew completely intoxicated. When she struck, she had drifted into four fathoms water, and her crew were not in a condition, had they been so inclined, to let go the anchor. Captain Bowen sent on board her eight men, who succeeded in bringing her up in rather less than three fathoms water; in this perilous situation, the *Terpsichore* could give her no assistance, as she was also very much disabled. All that Captain Bowen could do was, to take his prize in tow; but, in the course of the night, the rope was obliged to be cut, as it had got foul with some rocks, and thus exposed both vessels to great danger. Soon after the prize was separated from the *Terpsichore*, the Frenchmen rose and

took possession of her, and the next morning Captain Bowen had the mortification to see her towing into Cadiz, under national colours.

1797. The new parliament assembled for the first time, on the 6th day of October, 1796. The speech from the throne on this occasion, was so much more pacific than usual, that the Earl Fitzwilliam, who seemed to entertain a most violent antipathy against any accommodation with the French republic, though he did not divide the House of Lords, entered a solemn protest against the relinquishment of the war. In the House of Commons, the address was carried unanimously, after Mr. Fox in a long and eloquent harangue, had pointed out the advantages which would have accrued to Great Britain and Europe, had the pacific dispositions, at last, avowed by his Majesty's ministers, discovered themselves, and been acted upon some years before this period. The only debate connected with the affairs or the interests of the navy, will be noticed, when we come to treat of the alarming mutiny which took place this year at Spithead and the Nore.

The supplies granted for the sea service this year were very great; and comprehended some heads which had not before formed a part of them; they amounted in the whole to 13,133,673*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*; *viz.* for the maintaining one hundred and twenty thousand men, including twenty thousand marines and sea ordnance, 6,240,000*l.*; ordinary and half-pay to sea and marine officers, 653,573*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*; building and repairs of ships, and other extra work, 768,100*l.*; towards defraying the expences, and preventing the increase of the debt of the navy, 5,000,000*l.*; to defray the expence to be incurred by increase to the pay of the seamen and marines, and by the proposed issue of full allowance of provisions, 472,000*l.* The total supplies granted for the year amounted to 44,783,262*l.* 3*s.* 5½*d.*

There had long been complaints, both in the army

and navy, that the pay, which was granted to the soldiers and sailors, had continued stationary, while the price of provisions and of all the necessaries of life had been rapidly advancing. The seamen, moreover, complained that the discipline on board his Majesty's ships of war was extremely rigorous and severe: much more so than was necessary to keep the men to their duty, or to inflict on them a just punishment for any crimes they might commit; there was still another source of complaint; *viz.* the unequal distribution of prize money. Several subordinate and collateral causes of complaint existed among the seamen; but these which we have enumerated were what they dwelt upon with the most emphasis, and what contributed in the greatest degree to the mutiny which broke out among them.

The mutiny made its appearance first on board the fleet commanded by Lord Bridport: every thing connected with it had been conducted and managed with so much circumspection and secrecy, that notwithstanding it was very general, and consequently comprehended a large proportion of the seamen; and notwithstanding it had, in fact, been under consideration so long as to be completely organized; yet the officers were not in the least suspicious of its existence. In the course of the months of February and March, Lord Howe received several letters and petitions from the different ships composing the Channel fleet: he immediately made enquiry at Portsmouth, whether the officers had discovered any causes or symptoms of dissatisfaction on board of it: they answered decidedly and unanimously in the negative: but as the petitions still were sent him, he thought it his duty to forward them to the Admiralty. That board, on enquiry, not being able to detect any appearance of mutiny, laid them by without notice or reply.

It was soon ascertained, however, that not only a spirit of mutiny existed on board of the Channel

fleet, but that it was very general, determined, and peremptory. On the return of that fleet into port, the crews of all the ships that composed it, immediately entered into a secret correspondence; the object and result of which was, that no vessel should weigh anchor, till the grievances which they complained of, and which had been stated and explained in their petitions to Lord Howe, had been completely removed. It was still hoped that the seamen would not adhere to this resolution; but, on the 15th of April, when Lord Bridport made the signal to weigh anchor, and prepare for sea, not one ship obeyed it; but on the contrary, three cheers having been given from the Queen Charlotte, as the signal for mutiny, all the other ships followed her example. The officers in vain exerted their authority, or tried the more lenient means of persuasion; the sailors were resolute and inflexible; and it was then too evident that a mutiny long concerted, well organized, and universal throughout the fleet, existed. The sailors seemed determined to proceed with what they had begun; two delegates were chosen by every ship; and their consultations were held in Lord Howe's cabin. A few days afterwards, an oath was administered to every man in the fleet; and such officers as were particularly obnoxious were sent on shore. Although all these proceedings indicated the greatest insubordination, yet the greatest respect was paid to the admiral: his orders were obeyed the same as usual, except where they interfered with the objects of the mutiny; the strictest discipline was preserved on board of the fleet; and every breach of it, or of respect to the officers, was most severely punished.

As soon as the sailors had formed their committee of delegates, petitions were sent to parliament and to the Admiralty, containing a list of the grievances under which they considered themselves to labour, with respect to the rate of their pay, pensions, &c. As the utmost alacrity was now deemed necessary, the board



of Admiralty was transferred to Portsmouth, in order that they might enquire into all the circumstances of the mutiny, and, if possible, bring the seamen back to their duty. The communications between the mutineers and the Admiralty, were carried on by means of Lord Bridport; it was judged proper and only just to comply with most of their demands; and it was hoped that they would, on this, be induced to return to their duty, when the seamen, suspicious of the intentions, or doubtful of the authority and powers of the Admiralty, expressed their determination not to agree to any terms that should not be sanctioned by parliament, and guaranteed by the King's proclamation. Some demur arising on this determination, the seamen resolved to summon all their delegates on board the Queen Charlotte; the bloody flag was hoisted; the guns were loaded; the watch was set, and every thing bore the appearance of the most determined defiance and hostility. Fortunately, however, Lord Bridport, who was a great favourite in the fleet, complied with their request to come on board again, and bringing with him a redress of all their grievances, and the King's pardon, the crews returned to their duty.

Still, however, some distrust existed among several of them, and at last it was found necessary to send down Lord Howe himself, who, after addressing them with great feeling and effect, succeeded in bringing them again into a state of subordination, on the faith that all the terms which government had granted them, should be guaranteed by parliament. In order that there might remain no pretext for questioning the sincerity of government, Mr. Pitt lost no time in bringing the matter before the House of Commons. On the 8th of May, after a short speech, he moved that a sum of 436,000*l.* should be granted to answer the additional pay and allowance to the seamen and marines. Upon this Mr. Fox rose, not, he said, to object to the motion, but he thought that the house

ought previously to have been put in possession of all the information respecting the causes of the mutiny; which government could give; and they ought also to know, whether the seamen would be satisfied with what the house was about to do for them. Mr. Sheridan, on this occasion, did himself great credit, by not supporting his friend Mr. Fox, but giving his vote for the minister, without calling for any information; in this stage of the business, he concluded that information, if given, might be highly prejudicial, and defeat the very object for which the money was granted. On the following day, the necessity of previous enquiry was strongly insisted upon by Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Fox; the former of whom, moved a vote of censure against ministers, for having been negligent and dilatory in taking the mutiny into consideration. After a short debate, this motion was lost by 237 against 63. The bill was passed through both houses with unusual celerity, and immediately afterwards received the royal assent by commission.

It was now hoped, that no further symptoms of mutiny would display themselves; but on the 22d of May, the fleet at the Nore exhibited them in a still stronger and more alarming degree, than they had broken out at Spithead: nor was this mutiny confined to the vessels lying there. Admiral Duncan was just on the point of resuming his station off the Texel, for the purpose of watching the Dutch fleet, when he found himself deserted by part of his fleet. As soon as he discovered that the spirit of mutiny had appeared among them, he called his own ship's crew together, and addressed them so much like a British sailor, that they were all dissolved in tears, and declared their resolution to abide by him in life or death. Four ships of the line, however, and one sloop left him, and proceeded to join the mutineers at the Nore.

The organization of this mutiny was still more systematic and complete than that at Spithead; and the

demands of the mutineers were excessively exorbitant ; they peremptorily demanded compliance with these terms, before they would return to their duty : that when a vessel came into harbour, a certain number of the crew should have liberty to go on shore and see their friends ; that all ships before proceeding to sea, should have six months pay : that no officer who had been turned out of any ship should be reinstated without consent of the ship's company ; they also demanded that several very important alterations should be made in the articles of war, and in the distribution of prize-money

Richard Parker, who appears to have possessed good natural abilities, and to have been educated in a better and more regular manner than persons in his line generally are, was at the head of this mutiny : he possessed a great deal of authority, and exercised it in general, with great prudence and moderation. Admiral Buckner, who commanded at the Nore, was ordered by the lords of the Admiralty, to inform the mutineers that their demands could not be complied with ; but that, if they returned to their duty, the King's pardon would be granted them. To this an unqualified negative was given ; and the proceedings of the mutineers became every day more bold and alarming. They would not suffer any vessel to pass up the river ; and they even sent delegates to such of his Majesty's ships as were lying in Long Reach, to persuade them to drop down to the Nore and join them. Government, therefore, were convinced that conciliatory measures would be of no avail, and that the most vigorous and decisive steps must immediately be followed ; accordingly, all the buoys were removed from the mouth of the Thames and the neighbouring coasts, in order to prevent the mutineers from putting to sea. On their part, the mutineers did not seem disposed to relax in their demands, or in their menacing and hostile intentions ; they moored their vessels across the mouth of the river,

and threatened to force government to a compliance with their demands, by cutting off all communication between London and the sea. They also made a change in their internal resolutions: instead of delegates, a president was chosen, whose character and authority, however, continued only for a single day; and as some of the vessels appeared disposed to desert their cause, they compelled them to anchor in the midst of the others. It fortunately happened that the example of the seamen at the Nore was not followed by the ships at Portsmouth or Plymouth; on the contrary, the men there, satisfied with the terms they had got, and grateful to government for having conceded them, addressed an admonition to their fellow seamen at the Nore, in which they condemned their proceedings, as a scandal to the name of British seamen; and exhorted them to return to their duty without insisting on more concessions than had been demanded by the rest of the navy.

In the mean time parliament was not idle: a message from his Majesty having been sent down to both houses, desiring them to adopt such measures as would most effectually put a stop to the mutinous spirit, and secure the public tranquillity for the future; a bill was brought in by Mr. Pitt, declaring it a capital crime to seduce either soldiers or sailors from their duty, or to be engaged in any mutinous or seditious assembly: this bill passed by an unanimous vote on the 3d of July.

Mr. Pitt immediately afterwards made a motion to prevent all communication with the ships that were in a state of mutiny; and to enact, that if after the King's proclamation, any one should continue in those ships, he should be declared, and dealt with, as mutinous and rebellious; his pay should cease, and that which might happen to be due to him, should be forfeited. After some debate, several other clauses were added to this bill, for the purposes of punishment or pardon, as might be deemed advisable, or

as circumstances might require. This, as well as the other act, was limited, in its duration, to one month after the commencement of the next session of parliament.

Among the officers, whom the mutineers had detained on board their ships, was the earl of Northesk; him they resolved to liberate, on condition that he would carry their petition to his Majesty, and return with the answer, of whatever nature it might be. In this petition, which was couched in very respectful terms to the King, but which also insisted on the demand of the seamen with unabated firmness, and spoke of his Majesty's ministers in terms of great indignation and severity; they declared their resolution to put immediately to sea, if a favourable answer was not returned. When Lord Northesk consented to carry it to the King, he told the seamen that it was so very unreasonable, that he had no expectation it would be favourably received. When he arrived in London, he was introduced by Earl Spencer to his Majesty, and laid the petition before him; but it was not thought proper to return any answer.

It was foreseen that the mutineers would soon disagree among themselves; some were for putting to sea and delivering the vessels into the hands of the enemy: others were for accepting the King's pardon. In the midst of this diversity of opinion, Parker perceived that his authority was on the wane; and that the delegates from the different vessels, instead of yielding to him as formerly, the management of the mutiny, opposed his plans in direct and open terms. The seamen also found that the nation at large strongly reprobated their proceedings and their demands. From all these causes, added to the circumstances, that they could not easily or safely put to sea, on account of the buoys having been taken up, and that a strong force was preparing up the river to attack them, several of the ships deserted the

others ; and in a short time afterwards, the red flag, the signal of mutiny, was hauled down.

Parker, seeing himself thus deserted by his companions, yielded himself up without resistance ; his trial, which took place on board of the *Neptune*, lasted three days ; he was sentenced to death, and this sentence he underwent, displaying great presence and firmness of mind, acknowledging the justice of his sentence, and expressing his hope that his fate would be a solemn and effectual warning to others, not to indulge a mutinous disposition, or engage in such practices, as had brought him to an untimely end. Some others were also executed ; others remained under sentence of death, till after the victory which Admiral Duncan gained over the Dutch fleet, when his Majesty issued a general pardon. Thus terminated a mutiny unprecedented in British naval history, for the daring and determined spirit, in which it was conceived and carried on ; for the system with which it was organized ; and for the dreadful consequences which it threatened to produce to the great bulwark of our safety and independence.

The French republic convinced that while Great Britain was secure from war at home, she would by her councils and her money, keep alive on the continent, the coalition against them, resolved to attempt the invasion of these islands. Ireland was no longer the only or the principal object, at the invasion and conquest of which they aimed : they determined to strike at the heart. But there was no hope of succeeding in this enterprise, while Britain reigned triumphant at sea. France, therefore issued her commands to her vassal states, Spain and Holland, to join their fleets with her own : hoping by the junction to be more than a match for the naval power of Great Britain. The place of rendezvous was Brest, and thither the Spanish fleet was ordered to repair.

The numerical force of the Spanish fleet intended to form this junction was great; it consisted of six of one hundred and twelve guns; and one of one hundred and thirty-six; two of eighty-four, and eighteen of seventy-four guns: but they were badly equipped, and worse manned. The intentions of the French government were not unknown to the British ministry; and though they had no fears of the capability of our navy to cope with and conquer the combined fleets of France, Spain, and Holland; yet they deemed it most proper and prudent to prevent the junction: for this purpose the command of a squadron was given to Sir John Jervis, which consisted of fifteen sail of the line, and some frigates. This, though much inferior to the Spanish fleet, was yet so well found in every respect, and had on board such excellent officers, that no fears were entertained of the result, if they should be fortunate enough to fall in with the enemy. Directions were given to the British admiral to cruise off Cape St. Vincent, as there he would be most likely to intercept the fleet from Cadiz. On the 14th of February, just as day was breaking, twenty-seven sail of the line were discovered; no doubt was entertained that they were the enemy. As their numbers were so much greater than his own, the British admiral determined to compensate for his inferiority, by making every use of British seamanship, against Spanish inexperience. When their fleet was first discovered, they were sailing in a very loose and disorderly manner. Sir John Jervis, therefore, ordered a press of sail to be carried by his squadron; and they got up with the enemy before they had formed into a line of battle. "Such a moment," as he remarks in his official dispatches, "was not to be lost." He immediately decided on his plan of attack; and it was executed by British seamen with their wonted celerity, skill, and success: he formed his line of battle, bore down on the Spanish fleet, which were still unconnected and unsupported by any compactness of line,

and cut off nearly one third of their ships; thus he at once succeeded in reducing the force of the enemy nearly to an equality with his own, and instead of being obliged to fight twenty-seven ships, he had only eighteen to oppose. The Spanish admiral was not prepared for this manœuvre, so that it was completely successful, before he had time to prevent its execution; as soon, however, as he perceived the consequences of it, he did all in his power to remedy the evil; he threw out the signal to wear round the British line, hoping thus to be able to regain the vessels that had been cut off. In this attempt, however, he was frustrated by the skilful manœuvre of Commodore Nelson, who commanded the rearmost ship of the British line; and round whom, therefore, the Spanish admiral meant to proceed. But Commodore Nelson, instead of waiting till the admiral's ship came up to his vessel, stood towards her nothing daunted by her enormous size, and the weight of her metal, supported as she was by two others, each of them larger than Commodore Nelson's own ship. But the British captains in the rear of the fleet did not long suffer Commodore Nelson to sustain this unequal combat; six of them bore down to his assistance; and the Spanish admiral perceiving that he could not execute his intention of joining the ships that had been cut off, made the signal for those which remained with him to unite for their mutual support and defence. But the consequences of not being able to execute his manœuvre were highly injurious to him, for as his own vessel, and those which followed him, when he attempted to wear round the rear of the British fleet, had, by this measure, been thrown out of the line, and into confusion, Sir John Jervis gave directions for them to be vigorously attacked, before they could resume their order, and again form the line. This order was obeyed with so much promptness and success, that four of the Spanish ships were captured.



While these things were going on, the vessels which had been cut off, and which were far to leeward, were using every effort to rejoin the main body of the fleet: this they had nearly accomplished, as it began to grow dark. The British admiral did not think it prudent to renew the attack against the remainder of the enemy's squadron, strengthened, as it now was, by such a great reinforcement: neither was he disposed to fly before them. He, therefore, drew up his fleet in compact order; determined to repel any attack they might make, and to preserve, if possible, the vessels which he had captured. The Spanish admiral, however, was not disposed to come again into close action: but contented himself with a distant and harmless cannonade; and shortly afterwards returned to Cadiz, where he was blocked up by the victorious fleet. In this engagement, four vessels were taken, two of which carried one hundred and twelve guns each: one eighty-four; and one seventy-four. On board the British fleet the loss amounted to about three hundred, in killed and wounded: while the loss on board of the Spanish ships that were taken, amounted to double that number. In commemoration and reward of this victory, Sir John Jervis was honoured with the rank and title of earl of St. Vincent.

Although by this defeat of the Spanish squadron, the hopes and intentions of the French government were in a great measure frustrated, yet they did not altogether abandon their design of invading these islands; but instead of directing their attempts against Great Britain, they resolved to undertake the invasion of Ireland; they so nearly succeeded in landing the forces under General Hoche, that they naturally looked forward to a more favourable result, at a more seasonable time of the year. As, however, their own fleet was not deemed strong enough to cope with that of Britain, and as their own forces were most of them employed on other services, the Dutch were or-

dered to supply a reinforcement, both of ships and troops. The fleet which they prepared, consisted of four ships of seventy-four guns, five of sixty-eight, two of sixty-four, and four of fifty-six; the command of it was given to Admiral De Winter, an officer of courage, skill, and experience; and moreover, of tried republican principles. To watch the motions of this fleet, Admiral Duncan was employed; and he guarded the mouth of the Texel so closely, that the French government began to despair of gaining the co-operation of their allies, when the British admiral was obliged to return to Yarmouth Roads, to refit his ships which had suffered during the tempestuous weather. The republican government of Holland immediately ordered Admiral De Winter to put to sea; at the same time, the troops were disembarked, that if he fell in with the English, they might not be an incumbrance to a general engagement. Admiral Duncan, when he returned to Yarmouth Roads, had left some frigates off the Texel, by whom he was immediately informed of the sailing of the Dutch fleet: this took place on the 9th of October; and, on the evening of the same day, the English squadron were not only under weigh, but had actually got out of sight of their own coasts. On the 11th, he made the coast of Holland between Camperdown and Egmont, where he saw the Dutch fleet, forming a line on the larboard tack, to receive him.

The British admiral first formed his fleet in such a manner as to prevent the enemy from regaining the Texel; and having done this, he next planned his mode of attack; at half-past eleven, he made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward; each ship taking her opponent. This was immediately done, and Admiral Duncan, by this manœuvre, had the satisfaction to perceive, that the Dutch must fight in that manner, which would secure him the victory.

The Monarch, which carried the flag of Vice Admiral Onslow, bore down in the most gallant manner

on the rear of the enemy; and she was followed by the whole division. In less than an hour the line was broken; the Monarch passing under the Dutch vice admiral's stern, and engaging him to leeward. While Vice Admiral Onslow was thus engaged with the rear, Admiral Duncan attacked the van of the Dutch fleet. The great object he had in view was, to engage De Winter's own ship; but while he was bearing down for this purpose, the States General, shot up close along side of the Venerable, Admiral Duncan's ship, and he was compelled to engage her: she was soon, however, forced out of the line, and the Venerable then reached Admiral De Winter's vessel. The battle between the two admirals was long, and most obstinately contested: for nearly two hours and a half did it rage; nor did it terminate in favor of the Venerable, till the Dutch admiral's ship had lost all her masts, and half her crew were either killed or wounded. It is said, that at the close of the engagement, Admiral De Winter was the only man on the quarter deck, who remained alive and unhurt. The contest between the two vice admirals, was nearly equally bloody and obstinate, and terminated also in favor of the British. While the battle raged thus in the centre and rear of the Dutch fleet, two or three ships which were in the van made off under a crowd of sail, and escaped into the Texel, without having suffered the smallest injury.

Soon after the Dutch vice admiral struck his flag, several others yielded; and about four in the afternoon the victory was decided in favor of the British. At this time, Admiral Duncan found that his fleet was in nine fathom water, and only five miles from the enemy's coast. In this situation, with many of his squadron disabled, and night coming on, his object was, not so much to follow up the victory, by attempting to capture more of the enemy's ships, but to get his own crippled vessels off shore, and to attend to those of the enemy which he had already taken.

Had the circumstances been different, it is probable fewer of the Dutch fleet would have escaped; as it was, eight ships of the line, two of 56 guns, and two frigates were taken. Of these, the Delft, one of the 56 gun ships, afterwards foundered; one of the frigates was lost, and the other was driven on the coast of Holland, and re-taken. The carnage on board both fleets was dreadful; nine ships of the English lost 700 men, while on board of each of the Dutch admiral's ships that were captured, 250 were killed and wounded. On the 16th of October, Admiral Duncan arrived with his fleet at the Nore, and on the 30th, his Majesty embarked on board the Royal Charlotte yacht, in order to visit him; but owing to adverse winds and tempestuous weather, he was obliged to return, without having accomplished this object. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were given to the fleet, and Admiral Duncan was created a peer, by the title of Viscount Duncan of Camperdown.

The name of Nelson has already occurred in these pages connected with the performance of actions, above the common class of British naval bravery, high as that deservedly ranks. In the battle off Cape St. Vincent, his conduct had been particularly distinguished for skill and gallantry, and conduced in no small degree to the victory which was on that occasion gained over the Spanish fleet. In consequence of this, in the month of April, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, still continuing with the squadron under Earl St. Vincent. This squadron being engaged in blockading Cadiz, it was resolved to bombard that place: for this purpose, Earl St. Vincent fixed upon Admiral Nelson, persuaded that whatever could be effected by a consummate union of presence of mind and bravery, he would undoubtedly accomplish. Accordingly, the command of the advanced squadron was given to him; and during the night of the 3d of July, he proceeded on his hazardous en-

terprise with the Thunder bomb, covered and protected by the launches and barges of the fleet. The Thunder advanced to within 2500 yards of the garrison of Cadiz, and every thing was prepared to commence a bombardment, which promised the most successful results, when it was discovered, that the principal mortar had been so much used, as to be unfit for safe and effectual service. Under these circumstances, Admiral Nelson was obliged to direct the Thunder to retire ; as soon as the Spaniards perceived this, they sent out an immense number of mortar gun-boats and armed launches, with the intention and expectation of cutting her off. This, Admiral Nelson most effectually prevented : he had gone in his own barge, having on board only its usual complement, the coxswain and ten men ; and with this small force, and in this comparatively defenceless boat, he advanced to the support and protection of the Thunder. The Spaniards, who had come out to cut her off, were not deficient in intrepidity ; nor did they hesitate to try their strength with Admiral Nelson. Don Miguel Tyrason commanded the Spanish flotilla ; and in his boat he advanced against the barge of the British Admiral. The disproportion in the comparative strength of the two boats, rendered this a contest, in which Nelson delighted, and which was worthy of him ; and it was still more worthy of him, and pleasing to his noble soul, in that his opponents evinced the most determined and persevering resolution and intrepidity. The Spanish commandant fought, till out of twenty-seven men, that were on board of his barge, eighteen had been killed, and himself and all the remainder wounded ; then, but not till then, he acknowledged the superiority of Admiral Nelson, by surrendering himself prisoner. Notwithstanding the fate of Don Miguel Tyrason, the other part of the Spanish flotilla continued to fight with great obstinacy ; but not being able, with all their efforts, to succeed in the object, for which they had come out, they returned,

or rather were driven back into the harbour of Cadiz.

On the night of the 5th, another bombardment took place, under the direction and superintendance of Lord Nelson, but not having the benefit of his personal efforts. Three bomb vessels were placed with great judgment as near the shore as they could lie, and from them were thrown into the town, and among the shipping which were lying in the harbour, an immense number of shells. The people of the town fled in the greatest apprehension and dismay; while ten sail of the line, two of which carried admirals flags were warped higher up, out of the range of the shells. As it was now ascertained that the shells could be thrown so as to injure the enemy, another bombardment was planned and fixed upon by Admiral Nelson, but the wind blowing strong down the bay, it was impossible to lay the bomb vessels sufficiently near the town or harbour.

Admiral Nelson could not be long idle and unemployed; wherever there was danger to be met, and glory to be acquired, there he was desirous of being. Information having been received by Earl St. Vincent, that the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, was assailable, he resolved to make an effort to gain possession of it. Admiral Nelson was accordingly dispatched with four sail of the line, and three frigates. About eleven at night, on the 24th of July, one thousand seamen and marines were landed under the command of Captains Troubridge, Hood, Thompson, Miller, and Waller: they were in six divisions, Admiral Nelson being along with the first. The boats proceeded without being discovered, till they were within gunshot of the mole which stretches out into the sea from the town. At this moment the alarm was given; the bells rang, and a dreadful fire was opened upon them. In spite of all this, the boats pushed forward; but the night was so extremely dark, that only five of them could find the mole; in these, were Admiral Nelson, and Captains Thompson and Fremantle, who

at the head of the seamen, stormed and carried it, although it was defended by five hundred men, and six 24-pounders. But they found it impossible to advance; the fire of musketry and grape shot was kept up so incessantly, and with such effect from the citadel, and houses on the mole-head, that in a very short time, nearly the whole party were either killed or wounded, Admiral Nelson losing his right arm. Nor were these the only misfortunes of the first division; the Fox cutter, with one hundred and eighty men had been sunk, by a shot between wind and water; and her commander, and more than half her crew perished; Captain Bowen was killed while employed in spiking the guns at the mole; and a chosen part of his ship's company had perished in their boat, which was sunk by a cannon shot.

At first, the other divisions were much more successful; they landed further to the southward, and although during the act of landing their boats were staved, and their ammunition spoiled by the water, yet they obtained possession of the town; the citadel was the next object, against which they marched, but it was so strong, and so well protected, that this attempt was given up. Shortly afterwards, Captain Troubridge who commanded, was informed that three hundred Spaniards, and one hundred French, with five field pieces, were advancing against him. As his whole force amounted only to eighty marines, the same number of pike men, and one hundred and eighty seamen, with small arms, he sent Captain Hood to the governor, to propose that he should be allowed to re-embark; the governor returning for answer that they ought to surrender prisoners of war, Captain Troubridge declared, that sooner than do so, he would set fire to the town, and force his way at the point of the bayonet, through the Spanish army. On this declaration, the Spanish governor, with the characteristic bravery of that nation, instantly granted the terms demanded, and Captain Troubridge re-embarked in boats provided by the enemy. The Spanish

governor did yet more; he ordered the British wounded to be taken care of; furnished the retreating invaders with biscuit and wine, and informed Admiral Nelson, that he was at full liberty to send on shore for any provisions or refreshments his fleet might require. Our loss on this unfortunate and unsuccessful enterprise was great, amounting to forty-four killed, ninety-seven drowned, one hundred and five wounded, and five missing.

Rear Admiral Harvey, who commanded on the Leeward island station, planned, in conjunction with General Abercrombie, the capture of the Spanish island of Trinidad. This island, very valuable, both on account of its situation, and from its natural fertility, had been much neglected by the Spaniards; but it was reasonably hoped, if it were reduced under our power, that, by British skill and capital, it would prove a very valuable acquisition. On the 12th of February, the expedition sailed from Fort Royal Bay, Martinique; and on the 16th it came within sight of Trinidad. The enemy, either sensible of the weakness of the island, or apprized of the designs of the British, had assembled for its defence, a squadron, consisting of four sail of the line, and one frigate; these were stationed at anchor in Shagaramur's Bay, which was covered and protected by batteries of considerable strength. Besides this force, the Spaniards had collected a large body of troops in Gasparany Island. The plan formed by the British commanders was, for the fleet to proceed up the bay against the enemy's squadron and batteries, while General Abercrombie landed his troops, and attacked the Spanish army. Accordingly, in the evening of the 16th, Admiral Harvey anchored with the ships of the line, in order of battle, near the enemy's squadron, intending, as it was then too late, to commence the attack next morning. At two o'clock, however, on the 17th, the Spanish ships were discovered to be on fire, and notwithstanding every exertion was made to save



them, all, except one, which was towed out by the boats of the British fleet, were consumed.

Soon after this accident, a large body of troops were landed, who took possession of the town without opposition; and on the 18th, the whole island was surrendered on capitulation.

In consequence of this success, the British commanders resolved to attempt the reduction of Porto Rico: this island was not in itself so very valuable, as to render it on that account an object worthy of attack; but it afforded shelter to a great number of Spanish privateers, which greatly annoyed our trade in the West Indies. If it could be wrested from the Spaniards, the whole navigation from the windward to the leeward islands would be rendered comparatively safe. It was nearly two months after the reduction of Trinidad, before the forces deemed requisite for an attack on Porto Rico were embarked. On the north side of this island lies a reef of rocks, among which, there is only one narrow and dangerous channel; this, they had much difficulty in discovering, and after it was discovered, the passage through it was tedious, and could only be effected by the smaller vessels. At length, however, the troops were landed in a bay, to which this channel led: their disembarkation was but feebly opposed by about one hundred of the enemy. As soon as it was effected, they marched towards the town; but the approaches to it were so strongly fortified, and defended by gunboats and batteries, that it was found impossible to make any impression, and unsafe even to advance further. Till these were taken, the town was beyond the reach of bombs, as was proved by an ineffectual attempt to throw them into it. The next attempt was, to destroy a large magazine which was situated near the town; this also proved abortive; and as nothing else could be done, the commanders, at the expiration of three days, resolved to abandon the enterprise, and re-embark the troops; the enemy did not attempt to

offer any molestation during the re-embarkation, but while on the island, our loss amounted to two hundred men.

In the East Indies, Foul Point, a French settlement on the island of Madagascar, was reduced by a detachment from the squadron, under the command of Rear Admiral Pringle, who was the flag-officer on this station.

We shall conclude our account of the naval transactions of this year, with detailing the particulars of a gallant action, fought under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, and attended with very distressing results, between two English frigates, and a French 74 gunship. On the 13th of February, Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Indefatigable*, of 44 guns, and Captain Robert Carthew Reynolds, in the *Amazon*, of 32 guns; being on a cruise off Ushant, discovered a large ship, steering under easy sail for the coast of France. Immediately both frigates gave chase; the *Indefatigable* gained on her fast, and it was soon ascertained that she was a two decker, with her lower deck ports shut. At six in the evening, Sir Edward Pellew was sufficiently up with the enemy to bring her to action; but as they both continued under a press of sail, the *Indefatigable* shot ahead. Soon afterwards the *Amazon* came up, but she also shot a head from the same cause. On this, the enemy bore down upon the *Indefatigable*, intending to board her; but in this attempt he was repulsed, while both the English frigates, having taken in some of their sails, so as to preserve a proper distance, were placed on each quarter within pistol shot, occasionally pouring in a raking and destructive fire. For the space of five hours, the battle raged in this manner: it was now completely dark, and the *Indefatigable*, having had several shots through the masts, drew off in order to secure and strengthen them.

As the wind blew hard from the west, with thick hazy weather, the vessels during the heat of the battle,

had approached far into Hodiern Bay, without their situation being known, or any danger apprehended. But about four in the morning, the moon breaking through the clouds, the land was discovered so near, that only the most prompt exertions of the crews could save the vessels; they were at this time very close together; the Indefatigable lying on the starboard bow, and the Amazon on the larboard of the enemy. The danger was first descryed on board of the Indefatigable, she was instantly tacked, and her head laid to the southward; but before day light, breakers were seen on the lee-bow, and it was therefore necessary to wear her, and stand to the northward. The nature and extent of the danger, however, was not yet known; for when day-light appeared, land was seen right a head, at a very short distance; the depth of water being only twenty fathoms. Extraordinary exertions were therefore still necessary to save the ship, and it was not till eleven o'clock, that she was got out of danger, after having had four feet water in her hold, and being exposed to a lee shore, with a heavy sea running.

Soon after day-light, the French man of war was seen, lying on her broadside, a tremendous surf beating over her; she had had on board sixteen hundred seamen and soldiers, one hundred and seventy of whom were drowned, and a great number were killed in the engagement.

About the same time that the enemy's ship run a ground, the Amazon shared the same fate; this vessel had suffered very much during the action, and was in no condition to work off a lee shore; her masts, yards, rigging, and sails, were dreadfully cut and shattered; and she had three feet water in her hold. As soon as she struck, six of her crew took possession of the cutter-boat, hoping to reach either the Indefatigable or the shore, but they were drowned in the attempt. The rest, including the captain, con-

structed rafts, on which they reached the French coast, where they were made prisoners.

Perhaps there scarcely ever was an action fought under circumstances of such peril and difficulty. It began at a quarter before six, P. M. ; and continued (excepting with short intermissions) till half past four, A. M. ; and during the whole of this time, the wind and sea were so high, that the crew in both the English frigates were up to their middle on the main deck. "Some of the guns on board of the *Indefatigable*, broke their breechings four times over ; others drew the ring-bolts from the sides ; and many from getting wet, were repeatedly drawn immediately after loading."

The *Indefatigable* had none killed, and only nineteen wounded ; the *Amazon* had three killed, and fifteen badly wounded.

END OF VOL. VI.







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